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Kwong-leung CHEUNG

Thesis submitted as a requirement for the degree of Doctorate of Education

**IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN HONG KONG:
THEIR ADJUSTMENT AND THE ROLE OF CIVIC EDUCATION**

SUPERVISOR: Professor David Galloway

INSTITUTION School of Education, University of Durham

DATE: March 2004

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Abstract

Ed D Thesis - Immigrant Children in Primary Schools in Hong Kong: their Adjustment and the Role of Civic Education

This study investigated the adjustment of Newly Arrived Children (NAC) from Mainland China in three primary schools in Hong Kong and the role of civic education in the adjustment process. Questionnaires were delivered to five classes of primary five and six pupils to elicit information on various aspects of adjustment of these NAC as well as the patterns of interaction between the NAC and the local children. Interviews with school staff in these schools provided information on the aims, policies and other aspects related to the implementation of civic education in these schools. Interviews with teacher trainees helped to provide further information on issues related to the implementation of civic education.

Analysis of questionnaire results show that in general NAC have adjusted well to the school and social environment in Hong Kong. However, problems of interaction were found. Principal components analysis extracted nine factors from the questionnaire responses. There was evidence that the school was the organization which best helped the pupils to adjust to their new life in Hong Kong.

The interview data show that teachers attributed interaction problems to the different cultural background and the age gap between NAC and the local pupils. However, fewer problems were reported in schools with a high proportion of NAC. The interview data also showed that personal habits, language and life style were reported as important aspects regarding the adjustment to life in Hong Kong. Based on the interviews, it appears that an important aim of civic education in the schools is to facilitate the adjustment of NAC to the life in Hong Kong. Compared with the formal curriculum, there is a greater reliance on the informal curriculum in implementing civic education. Problems encountered include the clear discretion of teachers to decide in what ways civic education is implemented through the formal curriculum. Another problem is the emphasis on assimilation.

Kwong-leung CHEUNG

March 2004

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Abstract.....	i
List of Contents.....	ii
List of Tables	vi
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Chapter 1	INTRODUCTION
1.1	Background to the Study.....1
1.2	Purpose of the Study.....3
1.3	The Research Areas..... 3
1.4	Significance of the Study..... 4
1.5	Organization of the Dissertation.....4
Chapter 2	LITERATURE REVIEW
2.1	Citizenship Education in a Multicultural Context.....6
2.2	Acculturation.....8
2.3	Citizens and Citizenship.....11
2.4	Citizenship in Hong Kong.....13
2.5	Citizenship Education.....15
2.6	Citizenship Education from the Chinese Perspective.....28
2.7	Multicultural Education.....31
2.8	Stereotypes and Prejudice.....36
2.9	The Need for Multicultural Citizenship Education.....38
2.10	Theories related to Multicultural Education.....40
2.11	Strengthening Multiple Perspectives in Curriculum and Instruction and Teaching for Diversity.....46
2.12	The Involvement of Parents.....48
2.13	The Influence of School and Classroom Contexts.....50
2.14	The Situation in Hong Kong.....51
2.15	Conclusions and Questions arising from the Literature.....60

3.1 Introduction – Scope of the Chapter.....61

3.2 Choice of Methodology.....63

3.3 Design of Pupil Questionnaire and Sample Selection.....67

3.4 Design of Interview Schedule.....70

 3.41 Interview Questions for School Principals.....71

 3.42 Interview Questions for Teachers.....72

 3.43 Interview Questions for School Social Worker and
 Counseling Teacher.....73

 3.44 Interview Questions for Teacher-Trainers.....73

3.5 Sample and Participant Selection.....73

 3.51 School Samples Selection.....74

 3.52 Selection of Participants.....75

3.6 Procedure for Data Collection.....77

3.7 Outline of Method Analysis.....78

 3.71 Translations into English.....78

 3.72 Analysis of the Qualitative Data.....79

 3.73 Analysis of the Questionnaire Data.....80

4.1 Background and Personal Details of the Pupil Participants.....83

 4.11 Frequency distribution of the Personal Details
 of the Participants.....83

 4.12 Application of the Chi-square Goodness-of-Fit Analysis.....86

4.2 Self Perception of Different Groups of Pupils in relation to
 Home and School.....90

 4.21 Comparison of the Responses of the Three Groups of
 Pupils to Questions One to Seventeen.....94

 4.22 Subscales derived from the Questionnaire.....98

 4.23 Comparison of the Mean Ratings for the Three Groups of
 Pupils on the Six Factors.....101

 4.24 Categories of Responses to items 18 – 21.....103

4.3	Influences on Adjustment of NAC to Hong Kong.....	109
4.31	Mean Rating and Standard Deviation for Question Items 22 to 31.....	109
4.32	Subscales derived from the Questionnaire.....	112
4.33	Correlations of Mean Ratings on subscales of Items 22-31 with Subscale Ratings of NAC on Items 1 – 17.....	114
4.34	Perceptions of NAC regarding the Agencies which best help them to adapt to the Life in Hong Kong.....	116
4.4	Discussion and Summary.....	117

Chapter 5

INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL STAFF AND TEACHER TRAINERS

5.1	Introduction.....	120
5.2	Interviews with school staff.....	121
5.21	Interaction between the NAC and the Local Children.....	121
5.22	Adjustment to Life in Hong Kong.....	124
5.23	Aims of Civic Education of the Schools.....	132
5.24	School Policies to Promote Civic Education.....	134
5.25	Problems Encountered when Civic Education is Promoted in the Schools.....	140
5.3	Interviews with Teacher Trainers.....	150
5.31	Aims of Civic Education.....	150
5.32	Government Policies to Promote Civic Education.....	150
5.33	School Policies to Promote Civic Education.....	151
5.34	Differences between Official School Policy and Actual Delivery of Civic Education.....	152
5.35	Problems in Promoting Civic Education.....	153
5.4	Discussion and Summary.....	153

Chapter 6	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	
6.1	Introduction.....	159
6.2	Results of the Study.....	159
6.3	Discussion.....	163
6.4	The Applicability of Multicultural Education Concepts and Theories.....	171
6.5	Suggestions to Policymakers.....	172
6.6	Limitations of the Study.....	173
6.7	Suggestions for Further Research.....	174
Appendix I	QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRIMARY PUPILS.....	176
Appendix II	INTERVIEW SCHEDULES.....	179
References	180

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1	Background of the teachers in school A 75
2	Background of the teachers in school B 76
3	Dates of data collection..... 77
4	Age distribution of the participants 83
5	Number of the participants by sex 83
6	Place of birth of the participants84
7	Participants' length of stay in Hong Kong 84
8	No. of brothers and sisters of the participants 84
9	No. of the family members of the participants living in Hong Kong 84
10	The occupation of the father of the participants 84
11	The occupation of the mother of the participants 85
12	Place of residence of the parents of the participants85
13	Goodness-of-fit analysis of the age of the pupils with reference to their length of stay87
14	Goodness-of-fit analysis of the no. of brothers and sisters of the pupils with reference to their length of stay88

15	Goodness-of-fit analysis of the no. of family members living in Hong Kong with reference to their length of stay	89
16	Frequency, mean and standard deviation of answers to questions about adjustment to Hong Kong	91
17	Frequency, mean and standard deviation of answers to questions about adjustment to school	92
18	ANOVA results of the mean responses of the three groups of pupils to questions one to nine	95
19	ANOVA results of the mean responses of the three groups of pupils to questions ten to seventeen	96
20	Factor structure underlying the pupils' responses to questions 1 – 17	99
21	ANOVA results of the responses of the three groups of pupils to the six factors	102
22	The views of respondents on what they like about living in Hong Kong	104
23	The views of respondents on what they don't like about living in Hong Kong	105
24	The views of respondents on rights of the citizens of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	106
25	The views of respondents on responsibilities of the citizens of the Hong Kong Special Administrative region	107
26	The frequency, mean and standard deviation of responses to questions 22 – 31	110

27 Factor structure underlying the pupils’ responses
to questions 22 – 31 113

28 Correlations of mean ratios on subscales of items
22 – 31 with subscale ratings of NAC on items
1 – 17115

29 The views of respondents on agencies which best
help the NAC to adapt to the life in Hong
Kong 117

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Hong Kong was a British colony from 1842 to 1997. At the same time, Hong Kong was also a land of immigrants. Since the British first landed in Hong Kong in 1841, many people have migrated to Hong Kong in different periods. More specifically, when there were great social disturbances in the Mainland, many Chinese sought refuge in Hong Kong. From 1948 to early 1950, around a million people moved to Hong Kong as a result of the Communist takeover in the Mainland. In the years 1978 and 1979 around half a million legal and illegal immigrants moved to Hong Kong.

In general, up to the late 1960s many people in Hong Kong felt that China was their homeland. But since the 1970s, as the percentage of people born in Hong Kong has increased, many people feel that Hong Kong is their home and a sense of Hong Kong identity has become more prevalent.

Since the early 1990s there has again been a steady stream of new immigrants moving to Hong Kong. However, this is due to an explicit policy which allows 150 immigrants from the Mainland to move to Hong Kong each day. Of them, many are children of school age and they have to be educated. Schools which admit a large number of these Newly Arrived Children (NAC) have to adapt to cater for their needs.



More specifically, although the Mainland immigrants to Hong Kong are also Chinese, their culture is quite different from that of the local people. It is important to highlight that in Hong Kong the emphasis is on NAC fitting into mainstream culture. An important reason is that there is a strong sense of Hong Kong identity and this does not seem to have changed since 1997 following the return of Hong Kong to the Peoples' Republic of China. This will be discussed in greater detail in the literature review chapter.

The arrival of a large number of NAC has important implications for the education system in Hong Kong. The schools which admit a large number of NAC have to cater for their special needs. For instance, on average the English standard of the NAC is much lower than that of the local children. Hence, these schools have to make a great effort to raise the English standard of the NAC. Moreover, the school authorities have to handle problems of interaction between the local children and the NAC. An important role of the school is to help the NAC to adjust to the life and environment in Hong Kong. This provides the background for this study.

Furthermore, the presence of a quite a large number of NAC implies that Hong Kong is a multicultural society. The reason for highlighting the role of civic education is that civic education involves the promoting of tolerance among different groups and facilitates the adjustment of the immigrant group to the mainstream society. The relevance of civic education to multicultural education will be discussed in detail in the literature review chapter.

Purpose of the study

As mentioned in the previous section, the NAC experience problems after they have arrived in Hong Kong. These problems are mainly related to their adaptation to the environment in Hong Kong. More specifically, the purpose of the research is to investigate how and to what extent the NAC have adjusted to the school and social environment of Hong Kong. In particular, emphasis is placed on their adjustment to the life of the school in Hong Kong.

However, it is stressed that the research does not aim to examine the learning difficulties of the NAC in schools in Hong Kong. Rather, it focuses on personal relationships with classmates and teachers as well as their adjustment to the social environment. Moreover, their basic understanding of social features of the territory will also be examined. In brief, the investigation of this area relies mainly on a questionnaire completed by NAC and by children brought up in Hong Kong.

In addition, the study also aims to investigate in what ways civic education takes place in these schools. This includes the aims of civic education and policies for promoting it in the schools as well as the problems encountered.

The Research Areas

In view of the above, the main research areas are: the adjustment of NAC in primary schools in Hong Kong to their new environment, and the role of civic education in this process.

Significance of the study

The study is significant in two ways. Firstly, though the presence of NAC in schools is not a recent phenomenon, there have nevertheless been very few studies of the form of civic education in primary schools with a high percentage of NAC from China. The study starts to bridge the gap.

Second, the study is also significant in that policymakers need empirically based evidence when they are introducing policies to help schools to educate the NAC. In fact, so far the Hong Kong government has remained quite passive and has not provided adequate or systematic support to these schools. One possible reason is that the government is not well informed of the problems and of difficulties encountered by these schools. It is hoped that in future more attention will be paid to the needs of schools which admit a large number of NAC.

Organization of the Dissertation

To recapitulate, this chapter provides the basic framework, rationale and background to the study. In chapter two the literature relevant to the present study will be reviewed. Briefly, multicultural education and civic education will be important areas for review. Relevant literature and research in the context of Hong Kong will also be examined. Chapter three identifies the research questions and provides a detailed account of the systematic process which will yield the data necessary to answer each research question. The criteria of sample selection, research sites, and

the procedures for data collection are described. Basically both questionnaire and interview approaches to data collection and analysis will be adopted.

Chapter four will present and analyze the findings from the questionnaire data and chapter five will examine the findings from the interview data. In chapter six the findings will be summarized and discussed, and a conclusion will be reached.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Citizenship education in a multicultural context

In the last ten years or so, the governments in many Western countries have paid more attention to citizenship education. In fact, citizenship education has become an important element in the primary and secondary school curriculum of these countries. At the same time, in many of these Western countries, for example, United States, Canada and Britain, there have been sharp increases in the number of immigrants. Hence, multicultural education has also attracted the attention of education policymakers and researchers. Consequently, there has been a surge in the amount of literature on citizenship education and multicultural education.

However, it is argued that even in countries where there are a small number of immigrants multicultural education is also important. The reason is that learning about other cultures is equally important in schools that are practically monocultural. For instance, in many schools in Hong Kong where NAC are practically absent, it is also essential that the school children have a deep understanding of the people of other cultures.

There are different areas of research in multicultural education. In this research, the focus is on citizenship education in a multicultural context. Thus how citizenship education is implemented in multicultural schools and problems of implementation are important aspects of the research.

In Hong Kong during the period 1992 to 2002, the number of immigrants moving from Mainland China each year has increased steadily from 28,360 to 45,234 (Hong Kong Government Statistics Department, 2003, p.16). As a result of the influx of new immigrants, in Hong Kong the school sector in general has to face issues arising from the education of new immigrant children. In sum, the purpose of this chapter is to review and discuss the relevant literature.

Before the actual discussion of the literature review, it is important to highlight the structure of the chapter. The title of this dissertation is Immigrant Children in Primary schools in Hong Kong: their adjustment and the role of Civic Education. Thus their adjustment to local schools and the contribution of civic education in this process are very important. The discussion will center on these two important aspects. However, literature on multicultural education has also to be discussed. NAC and children born in Hong Kong have different cultural backgrounds. Hence, some schools in Hong Kong operate in a multicultural context. This raises questions about the concept of acculturation which is important in multicultural education literature. According to the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools, one of the objectives of civic education in Hong Kong is to 'help students understand the need to accept others, to respect different opinions, and to appreciate the value of co-operation in community life' (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996, p.8). To accept others includes those with different cultural background. This is one area where the link between multicultural education and civic education can be established.

Hence at the start it is important to discuss points related to social and cultural adjustment. The literature shows the importance of the concept of acculturation.

After that, aspects of citizenship and citizenship education will be investigated. Then discussion of various aspects of multicultural education will follow. Finally the situation in Hong Kong will be examined.

Acculturation

As defined by Banks (1991, p.20), 'Acculturation refers to a process of cultural change and adaptation that occurs when groups with different cultural norms come into contact and that progresses with each succeeding generation'. However, according to Grant & Ladson-Billings (1997, p.2), in the context of U.S. Society where a power differential exists between minority and dominant middle-class white cultures, acculturation can be defined as a process by which immigrants or racial and ethnic groups outside of the mainstream culture adapt to that culture in order to fit in.

In addition, according to another group of researchers, acculturation refers to the changes that occur as a result of continuous contact between two distinct cultures (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986, p.296). Thus, the definition by Banks as well as by Berry, Trimble & Olmedo seem to show that acculturation works in both directions. This means that each group will be influenced by the culture of other groups. However, in practice, the situation as depicted by Grant & Ladson-Billings is more common. The situation as depicted by them will emerge if there is a disparity in power between the two groups. This is most likely to happen when one group becomes a minority.

Scribner (2000, p.233) thinks that the attitude of the larger society is important. In

the case of Hong Kong his view seems valid and this will be elaborated later. In the context of education, he suggests that in the process of acculturation immigrant children may experience adjustment problems due to several reasons. These include feelings of isolation and discontinuity when they are relocated to a new country, new schools and new culture. Part of the reason for this is that friends and relatives have been left behind.

Moreover, according to Scribner, some families in U.S.A. experience a conflict of values and role reversal when the more acculturated children assume financial and social responsibilities for their non-English speaking parents. In the academic setting there will be a language barrier. Furthermore, the social need to adapt and be accepted by their mainstream peers may create anxieties. All these will have relevance to the NAC in Hong Kong.

An important related concern is assimilation. According to Grant & Ladson-Billings (1997, p.24), assimilation is the process by which a person or group is absorbed into the social structures and cultural life of another person, group, or society. Their view is that schools in the U.S. were thought to serve an assimilation purpose. More specifically, students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds are taught the language, values, and norms of the dominant group in order to maintain the common culture and keep the U.S. nation unified.

Gordon (1964, p.71) suggests seven stages of assimilation. They are (1) cultural or behavioural, that is, acculturation; (2) structural (large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on a primary group level); (3) marital (large-scale intermarriage); (4) identificational (development of a sense of peoplehood

based exclusively on the host society); (5) attitude receptional (absence of prejudice); (6) behaviour receptional (absence of discrimination); and (7) civic (absence of value and power conflict).

The discussion by Gordon is useful in that it points out clearly the differences between the concepts acculturation and assimilation. Briefly, acculturation is an important element of assimilation.

Both acculturation and assimilation are useful concepts as they highlight important aspects of adjustment. However, both concepts assume that the culture of the incoming group will change. The fact is that this is not necessarily the case. Thus these two concepts are not adequate in that if every immigrant gets acculturated and assimilated, a multicultural society will not exist and the cultural conflict between the incoming group and the dominant group will be much reduced. A role of multicultural education is to handle this conflict, and relevant concepts and theories will be discussed in a later section in this chapter.

In sum, the adjustment of NAC in Hong Kong can be analyzed to a large extent in terms of the concept of acculturation. As pointed out above, acculturation is a process by which immigrant groups outside of the mainstream culture adapt to that culture in order to fit in. In Hong Kong the fitting in of NAC to the mainstream culture in Hong Kong is emphasized. Moreover, though each day there are 150 newly arrived people from the Mainland, these recent immigrants are still a minority group in Hong Kong.

Citizens and citizenship

There are many interpretations of citizen and citizenship. According to Marshall (1950, p.2), citizenship is 'a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which that status is endowed'. Thus citizenship is a status bestowed by the government of a country on an individual who has satisfied certain requirements. Cogan and Dericott (1998, p.2) highlight five attributes of citizenship. They are (a) a sense of identity, (b) the enjoyment of certain rights, (c) the fulfillment of corresponding obligations, (d) a degree of interest and involvement in public affairs & (e) an acceptance of basic societal values.

The implication of the definition mentioned above is that citizenship is a complex concept which involves subjective imagination on the part of a citizen. Hence a sense of identity implies that a person has developed a sense of belonging and being proud of becoming a citizen of a certain country. In fact, this subjective imagination is explicitly mentioned by Heater (1991, p.4). As put by him, 'A citizen is, after all, a person who has a relationship with and within the state that is different from that of a slave, a vassal, or a subject. Citizen is both a status and a feeling. In educational terms, therefore, it requires both cognition and skills leading to the understanding and use of the status, and affective learning to want to behave in a citizenly manner'.

In addition, Kubow, Grossman & Ninomiya (1998, p.117) view citizenship from another perspective. They consider four dimensions of citizenship, namely, the personal dimension, the spatial dimension, the social dimension and temporal

dimension. According to them, the personal dimension of multidimensional citizenship involves developing a personal capacity for and commitment to a civic ethic. Regarding the social dimension, citizenship in its very essence is a social activity. It involves people living and working together for civic purposes. They must be able to work and interact with other people in a variety of settings and contexts.

Furthermore, the three researchers consider that citizens must see themselves as members of several overlapping communities – local, regional, national and multinational. This is referred to as the spatial dimension. Accordingly, multidimensional citizenship requires that citizens should be able to live and work at a series of interconnected levels from the local to the multinational. By the temporal dimension of citizenship, the researchers mean that citizens, in dealing with contemporary challenges, must not be so preoccupied with the present that they lose sight of the future.

Thus, Kulow, Grossman & Ninomiya offer a new perspective on citizenship. To them, the concept of citizenship is multidimensional in nature. They offer insights into the concept of citizenship, but it is not clear how these dimensions develop within a given society.

In view of the above, citizenship is a complex, controversial and everchanging concept. In addition, the relative importance and emphasis of different elements also differ among countries. For instance, in Mainland China the fulfillment of corresponding obligations is emphasized. On the other hand in Western countries the enjoyment of certain rights is solidly asserted and the protection of the rights of

individual is emphasized (Jay, 1991, p.125).

Citizenship in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong since the return of sovereignty to China in 1997, the citizenship status of the residents in the territory has been clarified. According to the Basic Law, those people who are born in Hong Kong or those who have stayed in Hong Kong for seven years will gain the status of citizen of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China (Basic Law Drafting Committee, 1991, p.11). Before 1997 the citizenship status of the residents of Hong Kong was vague. In legal terms, they were neither full citizens of the People's Republic of China nor of Britain.

Though the status of citizenship before 1997 was vague, writers do comment on the citizenship attributes of the residents of Hong Kong. Tsang (1995, p.40) comments that the residents of Hong Kong enjoyed a high degree of civil rights since the Second World War though political rights only started to develop in the early 1980s. The same writer also mentions that the residents of Hong Kong have enjoyed much better social rights since the early 1970s when the government started to improve the housing, medical, educational and social welfare of the people.

According to Chan (1993, p.14), until the mid-1970s the people of Hong Kong had developed a subjective political attitude towards the society. This means that they lacked the interest and the motivation to participate in politics or other public activities. More attention and effort was spent on family and work. To them, government and politics were instrumental in nature. Thus the role of the

government was to improve their material well-being. Moreover, according to Chan, there was also strong sense of impotence among the people. The main reason for this was the lack of a democratic system. To the people of Hong Kong at that time the legitimacy of the government was based on its willingness and efforts to improve the material well being of the people.

However, Chan mentions that in the early 1980s the Hong Kong government started a process of democratic development in Hong Kong. Changes in legislation enabled more people to participate in public affairs. However, the indifference to politics and public affairs is still prevalent among many people. It is on that ground that civic education is important, preparing young citizens to participate in society.

More recently, Lee (1999, p315) suggests that Hong Kong's political climate also changed notably at the turn of the 1990s. First, the change was a consequence of the June 4 incident in Tiananmen Square in 1989. The incident caused concern among Hong Kong's people about their political future after the handover.

A second cause of the change was the increase in the number of directly elected seats in the Legislative Council. The increase of seats had significant political ramifications. Thus elected members became the majority of the council and this triggered unprecedented political campaigns. In addition, the change in the proportion of elected members led to the transformation of pressure groups into political parties.

Third, according to Lee, the last Governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, employed a more confrontational approach when he was dealing with China. To a great extent,

the confrontation and conflicts between Patten and China became a major feature of the latter part of Hong Kong's colonial transition. In sum, the turn of the 1990s marked the change of Hong Kong's political scene from one that was depoliticized to one that was politically sensitized.

In brief, Lee provides a summary of the change in political atmosphere in the 1990s. It is important that a citizen should be more informed in coping with these changes. They provide a background for the promotion of civic education. As Hong Kong has become a part of the People's Republic of China, it is also important to discuss the possible tension between the concept in Hong Kong and that in the Mainland. At least one point can be mentioned here. According to Suen (1998, p.84), patriotism and the support for socialism is being emphasized in the Mainland. But in Hong Kong the enjoyment of rights by the residents is stressed (Basic Law Drafting Committee, 1980, p.11).

Citizenship education

The different definitions and interpretations of citizenship education are multidimensional in nature. Heater (1990, p.314) suggests that citizenship education has three dimensions: elements (identity and loyalty, virtues, legal or civic status, political and social rights), geographical levels (local, nation-state, regional or world) and outcomes of education (knowledge, attitudes and skills).

It seems that Banks provides a comprehensive definition of citizenship education. As defined by him, 'Citizenship education should help all students including

mainstream students, to acquire the knowledge, values, and skills needed to interact positively with people from diverse ethnic, racial, and cultural groups and to develop a commitment to act to make their communities, the nation, and the world moral, civic and equitable' (Banks, 1997, p.1). This definition is preferred as acquiring the relevant skills is a very important element of citizenship education.

As has been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the governments of many Western countries have given more attention to citizenship education. The case of the U.K. is a good example. In 1999 in U.K. the government extended the National Curriculum to include citizenship education as an important and compulsory element. Basically the national curriculum applies to pupils of compulsory school age.

In England there are four key stages, namely Key Stage 1 (for age 5 – 7), Key Stage 2 (for age 7 – 11), Key Stage 3 (11 – 14) and Key Stage 4 (14 – 16). In Key Stage 1 and 2 personal, social, health education and citizenship education are combined. However, in stages 3 and 4 citizenship education becomes an independent subject (Department of Education and Employment, U.K., 1999, p.16). According to the curriculum framework, in Key Stages 3 and 4 civic education has three important educational aims. They are (1) knowledge and understanding about becoming informed citizens, (2) developing skills of enquiring and communication and (3) developing skills of participation and responsible action.

Thus the introduction of citizenship education as an independent subject in the curriculum shows that the government in U.K. has paid more attention to the subject. Moreover, clear guidelines have been set to facilitate the teaching of the subject.

According to Lawton (2000, p.11), there were at least two views concerning the definition of citizenship education. They are (1) the passive citizenship view of training for conformity and obedience and (2) educating the future citizen for active participation in a democratic society. The guidelines of the National Curriculum (Department of Education and Employment, U.K., 1999, p.184 - 185) place more emphasis on the aspect of educating the future citizen for active participation in a democratic society.

Though citizenship education is now part of the National Curriculum, Sutherland (2001, p.262) has highlighted two possible sources of resistance to schools' teaching of citizenship. They are both associated with conflicting loyalties affecting the status of citizens and education toward that status. The first point is that in many countries the movement of population has introduced large immigrant groups whose feeling of national identity are not those of the indigenous population. Secondly, there are also questions about indigenous minorities and alternative national traditions. For instance, in the U.K. the creation of a Scottish Parliament seems likely to enhance perceptions of a dual citizenship.

Sutherland's analysis is relevant to Hong Kong in that the NAC will have a strong sense of identity with the People's Republic of China when they arrive in Hong Kong. However, a strong sense of Hong Kong identity has developed among a large percentage of the population in the territory. As a result, the NAC feel that they have to adapt and this is an issue which will be examined in the research. However, the people in Hong Kong also have to adapt by regarding themselves as citizens of the People's Republic of China.

In Hong Kong, the government has paid special attention to citizenship education since the 1980s. However, the term civic education is often used instead. In this piece of research to avoid confusion the term civic education is synonymous with the concept citizenship education. Moreover, in the rest of the discussion the term civic education is used except in some quotations from literature the word citizenship education is still adopted.

Morris (1997, p.107) considers that the role of civic education in Hong Kong since 1945 can be analyzed in terms of three distinct periods. In the first period, from about 1945 to 1965 its role was defining the nature of valid knowledge and relied on coercion. The curriculum was designed to counter any direct threats to the legitimacy of the colonial government. In the second period, from about 1965 to 1984, the nature of valid knowledge was primarily defined by the market but was also influenced by the desire to avoid offending the People's Republic of China. In the final period from the early 1980s onwards, the definition of valid school knowledge continued to be defined by the market but was also substantially influenced by the impending transfer of sovereignty and the resulting crisis of legitimacy for the colonial government.

Morris considers that in the first period, there was a highly centralized and bureaucratic system of control of the curriculum in which schools were provided with the syllabus for permitted subjects, textbooks were vetted by officials, with recommended reading guides and official examination syllabus. A prominent feature of the system at that time was that the mentioning of local issues or controversies was avoided and the emphasis was strongly on promoting the duties and commitment of a resident to the status quo.

According to Morris, in the second period from mid 1960s to early 1980s a new subject Economic and Public Affairs (EPA) was introduced as the major component of civic education. An important feature was the presence of an economic component in the EPA syllabus. However, the new subject was essentially descriptive, stressed the duties of a resident and was laudatory of the government's role.

Again in this period controversial policy questions were consciously avoided both in EPA and other subjects. There was a marked change in the third period which started in the early 1980s; an important feature of this period was that the culture and contemporary politics of Hong Kong became a valid item for inclusion in the school curriculum. This was the result of the impending transfer of sovereignty in 1997. Hence the government changed the criteria for the selection of valid curriculum knowledge.

According to the Joint Declaration which was signed in 1984 between the Chinese and the British government, China would regain the sovereignty of Hong Kong from 1997. Subsequently the colonial government started to promote civic education more rigorously. In addition, this was also necessary as a result of the start of the process of democratization in the territory in the early 1980s. Accordingly, an important document, the Guidelines in Civic Education in Schools was released in 1985 (Hong Kong Education Department, 1985).

However, according to S.M. Lee (1987, p.253), the concept of Civic Education in the 1985 Guidelines was only a form of moral education which put emphasis on the relationship between the individual and the society. More importantly, Lee also

pointed out that the 1985 Guidelines aimed to preserve the status quo rather than introduce change. The implementation of civic education was also not satisfactory. Tse (1999, p.160) points out that the 1985 Guidelines were taken not so much as guiding documents but more as a reference by schools and at worst were neglected completely.

In 1993, a statement of aims for schools was published. According to the document, one of the central aims of school education was the promotion of social, political and civic awareness (Hong Kong Education Department, 1993, p.3). Subsequently, another version of Hong Kong School Civic Education Guidelines (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996) was released. The release of these two documents shows that just before the political transition the colonial government had reasserted the importance of civic education and a more up to date framework had been developed to cope with the pending political changes.

To facilitate the analysis it is very important to examine the content of Guidelines in Civic Education in schools (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996). Chapter two of the Guidelines presents the aims and objectives of civic education in schools (p.5 – 9). Accordingly the general aims of school civic education are a) to enable students to understand how the individual, as a citizen, relates to the family, the neighbouring community, the national community, and the world and to foster a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China, b) to help students understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life and c) to develop in students critical thinking dispositions and problem-solving skills that would allow them to analyze social and political issues objectively.

Hence after examining the aims identified in the 1996 Guidelines, a significant difference in emphasis from that of the 1985 Guidelines becomes apparent. In particular, the general aims of the Guidelines stress the importance of democracy, equality, human rights and the rule of law. In addition, the development of students' critical thinking disposition and problem-solving skills are also emphasized. In Appendix 1 and 2 of the Guidelines the suggestions to teach controversial issues in civic education and to develop critical thinking in civic education are presented in greater detail. To sum up, the 1996 Guidelines is an important guiding document for schools to implement civic education, emphasizing a more analytical and critical approach to civic education. Through the publication of the 1996 Guidelines, the importance of civic education has been asserted.

According to the 1996 Guidelines in secondary schools in Hong Kong implementation may be achieved through an independent subject, civic education. This means that a secondary school may choose to implement civic education through the teaching of this independent subject. Alternatively, the school may adopt a permeation approach. According to this approach, the elements of civic education permeating the whole curriculum are taught through different subjects in the formal curriculum and extra-curricular activities.

At this point it is important to clarify the meaning of the terms formal curriculum, informal curriculum and hidden curriculum. The formal curriculum refers to the various independent subjects which are included in the formal timetable of a school. Thus the formal curriculum refers to the subjects English language, mathematics, physical education, etc. However, the informal curriculum refers to extra-curricular

activities, school assemblies and class teacher periods (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996, p.45).

In addition, according to Bowles and Gintis (1976), the hidden curriculum refers to the macro-political influences in schools. Their view is that schools cannot avoid reproducing division in society through the hidden curriculum. This deterministic view is rejected by Hargreaves (1992, p.16 – 17). He argues that there is nothing inevitable about the negative influence of the hidden curriculum.

Galloway (1990, p.15) defined the hidden curriculum as the network of relationship in a school, between teachers, between pupils and between teachers and pupils which determine what teachers and pupils expect of themselves and of each other. His view is that the hidden curriculum includes all incidental learning and reflects the social and emotional climate of the school. Though there are different emphases, the importance of the hidden curriculum is asserted. Slightly adapted from the definition of Figueoa (2000, p.61), in the context of citizenship education, the hidden curriculum refers to the ethos, relations between the members of the school community and how practices and structures, such as school council, operate.

In the context of primary schools, civic education as an independent subject was not formally identified for use by the Hong Kong Education Department. The implication was that in most primary schools the permeation approach would be adopted. This also meant that a greater degree of variance in respect of the implementation of civic education would be found among the schools. For instance, some schools would implement civic education mainly through the teaching of the subject General Studies. Other schools would tend to put a greater emphasis on the

role of the informal curriculum. According to one researcher, the implementation of civic education in many schools was not monitored by the Education Department (Morris, 1997, p.121). This situation also applied to the adoption of the permeation approach in implementing civic education.

As suggested in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, the implementation of civic education would be more systematic and better focused if civic education were taught as a special subject (p.46). In 1998, an independent subject was introduced in the junior (Form 1 – 3) secondary school curriculum. It is optional whether schools actually introduce the subject into their curriculum. However, if the school just relies on the formal curriculum and the role of informal curriculum is ignored, it is doubtful whether the desired result will be achieved. This fact has also been pointed out in the 1996 Guidelines which highlights that teachers not involved in teaching their subject may overlook their responsibility for civic education (p.47).

Thus, the view of the researcher is that civic education is likely to have a maximum influence if it is taught as a separate subject while the role of the informal curriculum is also acknowledged.

It is also important to consider how far the aims of civic education can be met without radical changes to the social climate or hidden curriculum of the school. The highlighting of some of the objectives of civic education in primary schools in Hong Kong will facilitate discussion. According to the 1996 Guidelines, important objectives in the kindergarten and primary level include developing concern for the major events of Hong Kong, China and the world as well as helping students to acquire an understanding of the Chinese nation and Chinese culture. In addition,

helping students to acquire a basic understanding of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and the rights and duties of a citizen are also important objectives (p.6).

In achieving these objectives, it is important that the informal curriculum and the hidden curriculum of the school should play a positive part. For instance, extracurricular activities can play an important role in helping the pupils to understand Chinese culture and to foster concern for community affairs. Examples of relevant extracurricular activities range widely from learning a Chinese musical instrument to visiting the local police station. Furthermore, to help pupils to understand democracy and human rights, it is not enough to just teach these concepts in the classroom. The school climate has to change to facilitate understanding and learning.

Alderson (2000, p.126 -127) investigated the situation in two English primary schools which made attempts to promote democratic practice for their pupils. One of the schools emphasized democracy as open consultation, listening to and learning from all concerned, everyone having the chance to contribute to policy making which was negotiated and tested before it was agreed. In another school, great attention was paid to non-discrimination, equal responsibility and opportunity in gender, ethnicity and ability.

Hence, to promote civic education, substantial change has to be made to the social climate of the school. In sum, the role of school ethos and extracurricular activities cannot be ignored.

In addition, a more critical discussion of the relationship between civic education and

the school's overall provision for pupil welfare and guidance is also essential. Again, a highlighting of some of the objectives of the Civic Education Guidelines (Education Department, 1996) would be helpful. According to the document, an objective of civic education in the kindergarten and primary level is helping students develop learning skills, life skills and an inquisitive mind which will enable them to reach well-thought conclusions as well as to communicate and get along with others effectively. Furthermore, promoting in students an understanding of the rights and duties of a citizen, and fostering a growing concern for community affairs so as to raise their sense of civic awareness is also an objective (p.7).

It appears that the role of the school's overall provision for pupil welfare and guidance has not been mentioned. However, after examining the official web page of the Education and Manpower Bureau (<http://sg.emb.gov.hk/>), it is apparent that there is a relationship between civic education and the role of school's overall provision for pupil welfare and guidance.

The link can be observed by examining the scope of Comprehensive Student Guidance Service as suggested in the document. More specifically it is suggested that all schools in Hong Kong have to promote comprehensive student guidance services in four areas, namely, policy and organization, support service, personal growth education and responsive service. In particular, for personal growth education, the aim is to 'promote school-based Personal Growth Education to develop students' competencies, skills, positive attitude and values in the areas of personal, social, academic and career development which are prerequisites in meeting new challenges in a changing society' (<http://sg.emb.gov.hk/>). This aspect matches some of the objectives of civic education in Hong Kong which are mentioned in the last

paragraph.

In addition, different situations among schools in Hong Kong arise also because of different political orientations and interpretations of patriotism. According to the 1996 Guidelines an important aim was to 'develop in them positive attitudes and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China so that they are ready to contribute to the betterment of the society, the state and the world'. However, this was also subject to different interpretations. In a few pro-China or patriotic schools the interpretation was that developing an attitude to support the Chinese communist government was a very important element of civic education. In contrast, researchers such as Leung (1997, p.130) argued that understanding the tradition and culture of China was a very basic element.

Furthermore, as Hong Kong had been separated from China politically for 150 years, there had been a different path of social and economic development between the two places. The development of an indigenous culture and a strong Hong Kong identity has been well documented by Wong & Shum (1998, p.21). According to them, the development of a strong sense of Hong Kong identity will conflict with the development of a strong sense of belonging to China.

Morris (1997, p.119) made further comments on the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines. According to Morris, the 1996 Guidelines provided a clear set of clues for principals and teachers. He suggested that the document was perceived to be promoting important and worthwhile educational goals. Moreover, they were not seen as requiring significant changes to schools' existing provision in general, and specifically the subject oriented curriculum.

However, Morris observed that the nature of the guidelines was essentially advisory and discretionary in nature. Teachers interpreted this as meaning that they were optional and not designed to disturb the status quo. In addition, he suggested that the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines as well as other guidelines such as the Sex Education Guidelines were perceived to have emerged as ad hoc and uncoordinated government responses to emerging socio-political contexts. Hence this encouraged a view which involved a mixture of pragmatic skepticism and a 'wait and see' attitude to the adoption and implementation of the themes. The consequence was that the 1996 Guidelines only achieved a low and marginal status in the curriculum of most schools. This has implications for this piece of research. More specifically, one of the aims of the research is to investigate how civic education is practiced in a sample of schools with a high proportion of NAC.

To summarize this part of the literature review, the definitions and interpretations of citizen, civic education and citizenship education have been discussed. Most importantly, after examining the literature, it is found that the Hong Kong Government has paid more attention to civic education since the 1980s. In particular, the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines provide an important framework for schools to follow. However, due to the different background and orientation of schools, the actual conduct of civic education varies widely. This provides a basis for investigation in this research. In addition, the presence of Newly Arrived Children (NAC) from China adds a further complication.

Citizenship education from the Chinese perspective

As Hong Kong is a part of China, it is also appropriate to examine citizenship education from the Chinese perspective. In addition, the discussion is also relevant in this piece of research in that most NAC have received education in Mainland China before they move to Hong Kong. Hence the difference regarding civic education between the two systems is also an aspect which has to be addressed.

Before the actual examination of the issue, it is important to clarify that the Chinese perspective of civic education refers to the perspective of the Chinese government. The Chinese perspective of civic education is not difficult to locate. It is set out in a speech by H.C. Suen (1998), the Minister of Education of China. According to Suen, citizenship in primary and secondary schools in China essentially means moral education. Moreover, the primary aim of moral education in China is to nurture citizens who are loyal to their socialist system, who have developed civic virtues and who are well disciplined (p.3).

Furthermore, Suen (1998, p.13-16) has provided a detailed content for moral education in China. Firstly, an important aspect of moral education is to promote nationalism. Thus according to him, it is very important to know and respect the national anthem, the national flag and the basic political and physical geographic features of China.

In addition, it is also important to learn the modern history of China so that students will understand how China was invaded by foreign countries. In particular, the establishment of the People's Republic of China under the leadership of the

Communist party is an important fact which cannot be ignored.

Secondly, the promotion of civic virtues is also an important aspect of moral education. In sum according to Suen, crucial elements are honesty, courtesy, bravery and respect for one's parent.

Thirdly, it is also important to promote students' understanding of citizen's rights and responsibilities in China. Closely related to this is the promotion of basic legal education. The reason is that the rights and responsibilities of citizens in China are listed in the constitution of the country.

Fourthly and finally, promotion of a desirable psychological and physical style of living is also emphasized. Under this category the promotion of sex education is also emphasized. In addition, it is important to nurture a student to become a determined person who can endure hardship.

After a brief examination of the features of civic education in China, a comparison between mainland China and Hong Kong regarding various aspects of civic education can be made. To facilitate analysis, the comparison is made based on the discussion by Suen (1998) and the 1996 Hong Kong Civic Education Guidelines.

It is appropriate to examine the similarities first. In Hong Kong, according to the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines the fostering of a positive attitude and values conducive to the development of a sense of belonging to Hong Kong and China is an important aim (p.5). This is similar to the first point discussed by Suen, namely, the promotion of a sense of nationalism.

In addition, the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines also emphasizes promotion of students' understanding of the rights and duties of a citizen. This is similar to the third point mentioned by Suen, which also emphasizes the promotion of students' understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizens of China.

However, the differences are also remarkable. According to the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, an important aim is to help students to understand the characteristics of the Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law, and to employ these concepts in daily life. However, the importance of democracy and human rights is not mentioned in the curriculum of moral education as mentioned by Suen.

Moreover, based on Suen's discussion, nationalism is much more strongly emphasized than is the case in Hong Kong as depicted in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines. According to the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, one needs to know the current ideology which the Chinese government is upholding i.e. socialism and the socialist market economic system (p.24).

However, in the case of China the acceptance and support of the present political system is greatly stressed. Moreover, in China, as has also been pointed out by Suen, it is expected that great emphasis will be made to ensure that measures are implemented to achieve these aims. As discussed in the last paragraph, in Hong Kong the emphasis is put on knowledge or informing the students about the relevant facts in the Mainland.

Multicultural education

In Western countries such as the United States, Britain and Canada, multicultural education has also attracted policy-makers and curriculum developers. Bennet provides one useful definition of multicultural education. As he points out,

Multicultural education in the U.S. is an approach to teaching and learning that is based upon democratic values and beliefs, and affirms cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies and an interdependent world. It is based on the assumption that the primary goal of public education is to foster the intellectual, social, and personal development of virtually all students to their highest potential (Bennet, 1999, p.11)

Bennet's definition is not difficult to understand. However, further clarification is needed. Cultural pluralism refers to the creation of a cohesive society where individuals of all backgrounds interact and participate equally, while maintaining their cultural identities (Coelho, 1998, p.19). Moreover, there are also different interpretations of democracy. In Western society, democracy refers to a system in which power is not concentrated in one party. The political system is characterized by fair, open and periodic elections. In addition, the system is also characterized by the protection of the rights of individuals and the rule of law. Important underlying values and principles of democracy are political equality, representation and popular sovereignty (Jay, 1991, p.124 -132).

On the other hand, there is a variation of democracy based on a one-party model. The principle is that a single party can be the legitimate expression of the overall will of

the community. As put by one writer, 'under this model voters choose among different candidates, proposing divergent policies within an overall framework, not among different parties' (Held, 1993, p.220). Thus, a single party will look after the interests of the whole country and a multi-party system is considered not necessary. This is the interpretation of democracy adopted by the Chinese government and the government of the former Soviet Union.

However, it is possible that Bennet refers to the situation in U.S. and in other Western countries. Accordingly, the democratic values and beliefs depicted by Bennet are the spirit of political equality among people, participation in public affairs and tolerance of other people and their views. This includes the tolerance of people of different races and cultures.

The elements of democratic values and beliefs, cultural pluralism, and the fostering of the intellectual, social, and personal development of virtually all students are important features in this definition. Moreover, this definition also embraces the essence or the spirit of citizenship education which is mentioned above.

Davidman and Davidman (1994, p.19 -22) highlight other definitions of multicultural education. According to them, definitions of multicultural education can be categorized into at least four broad, overlapping categories. First, there are definitions in which cultural pluralism is the dominant defining characteristic. They quote the definition advocated by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) in the U.S. as one good example. Thus, multicultural education, as interpreted by ASCD, is a humanistic concept based on the strength of diversity, human rights, social justice, and alternative life choices for all people.

Secondly, according to Davidman and Davidman, there are definitions which involve equity. Thus, based on this approach multicultural education is an educational reform movement which is concerned with increasing educational equity for a range of cultural and ethnic groups.

Thirdly, there are definitions which involve racism. According to this approach, multicultural education is viewed as methodology to counter racism and prejudice based on ethnic identification and to promote positive attitudes about human diversity.'

Regarding the fourth type, Davidman and Davidman argue that defining and redefining the field of multicultural education is involved. Sleeter and Grant are supporters of this approach. They connect multicultural education with a broader orientation to education and thus make it a more complete and meaningful activity. An example is the multicultural education plus reconstructionism which they advocated. These two writers point out that this approach 'deals more directly than the other approaches have with oppression and social structural inequality based on race, social class, gender and disability' (1994. p.137).

It is clear that these four definitions emphasize different aspects of multiculturalism. However, they are not mutually exclusive. For instance, tackling racism would also imply the promotion of equity.

In fact, the relationship between civic education and multicultural education can be further established. As mentioned above in Hong Kong, the 1996 Civic Education

Guidelines explicitly pointed out that one of the aims of civic education was 'to help students understand the characteristics of Hong Kong society and the importance of democracy, liberty, equality, human rights and the rule of law' (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996, p.6). The reference to multicultural education is implied, as the enjoyment of human rights does not depend on one's race or culture. Moreover, as highlighted in the aims mentioned above, equality is important and thus people of different cultural background should be treated equally.

It is not difficult to find similar ideas in the literature in Western countries. As stated by Sigel (1991, p.7), 'it goes without saying that democratic citizenship is incompatible with intercultural intolerance'. What Sigel emphasizes is that students in a society such as U.S.A. have to cope with cultural diversity. Otherwise low intercultural tolerance will result.

In addition, as also pointed out by Banks (1997, p.13), citizenship education in a multicultural society must have the goal of helping all students to develop the knowledge and skills to participate and also to help transform and reconstruct society. According to Banks, problems of racism, sexism, poverty and inequality have to be addressed.

Hence, as implied in the discussion by Banks, multicultural education is also an important element of citizenship. However, there may be tension between citizenship and multicultural education. Banks (1997, p.131) points out that in many countries, including U.S.A., one of the aims of citizenship education is to promote a sense of identification with the nation. Yet Banks also argues that educational attempts to build nationalism and consensus on national goals are likely to be greeted

with strong skepticism and even hostility by some groups. The development of a strong national American identity is likely to be associated with forced assimilation, Anglo-conformity, the melting pot and institutionalized racism.

The implication is that in the process of promoting national identity, the minority groups will be subject to great pressure to give up their own culture. This is the reason why there are several modes of multicultural education and the mode of cultural pluralism is advocated. Cultural pluralism allows the migrant group to keep their own culture while at the same time they are encouraged to mix with the local population. This seems to be a more tolerant way of handling the issue of multiculturalism. In sum, cultural pluralism can in principle be harmoniously incorporated into programs of citizenship education.

To sum up, the elements and values carried in the definitions mentioned above have relevance for Hong Kong. Hong Kong is an international city with people of many different races. Moreover, the Newly Arrived Children from China come from a different culture to that of people born and brought up in Hong Kong. For example, in Hong Kong the traditional Chinese characters are used while in the Mainland people use the simplified version of characters. Furthermore, in Hong Kong English is widely accepted and spoken. However, in the Mainland few people can understand English. Hence, it is appropriate to say that Hong Kong is characterized by multiculturalism. The essence is not only that in Hong Kong Western and Chinese cultures coexist, but also that different elements of Chinese culture, such as traditional and simplified versions of Chinese character, are also accepted and used by different groups of people. In sum, cultural diversity is a marked feature of the Hong Kong society.

Nevertheless, it is emphasized that cultural similarities between the NAC and the local children are likely to be as great as cultural differences. For instance, rice is the main diet of the two groups and both groups celebrate festivals such as the Chinese New Year. Both groups are also subject to the influence of an education system which is highly competitive. Moreover, there is still a common cultural basis between NAC and local children in spoken Chinese language apart from the minority who do not speak Cantonese on arrival in Hong Kong. Furthermore, a common Confucian Heritage Culture for the two groups should also not be ignored. This implies loyalty to the family, respect for authority, an emphasis on effort, and recognition of the importance of “face”.

In view of the discussion above, the emphasis on civic education in this research can be further justified. Thus civic education should help NAC to adjust and learn the knowledge and skills to participate in the Hong Kong society. On top of that, the successful implementation of civic education should also contribute to the promotion of tolerance among NAC and Hong Kong children in the school.

Stereotypes and Prejudice

Stereotypes and Prejudice are two concepts which are very widely used in multicultural education literature. They are so fundamental to the field of multicultural education that it is important to elaborate their meaning and to discuss the importance of these two concepts. As defined by Tucker (1997, P.249), ‘A stereotype is a belief about the personal attributes of a group, based on exaggerated

and inaccurate generalization used to describe all members of the group, without acknowledging individual differences'. According to Tucker, a stereotype implies undesirable rigidity, a sense of permanence, and a lack of flexibility from one group to the next and even within a group.

The undesirable consequences of stereotypes are that they create and help preserve perceived group differences, and they help create a group ideology that might be used to justify attitudes and actions against other groups. The elaboration by Marshall (2002, p.5) is similar. He comments that group stereotypes deliberately distort realities. They are used to emphasize the dissimilarity and supposed peculiarity or inferiority of one group in comparison to another group.

As defined by Johnson and Johnson (2002, p.59), prejudice can be defined as 'an unjustified negative attitude toward a person based solely on the individual's membership in a group other than one's own'. Moreover, prejudices are judgments made about others that establish a superiority/inferiority belief system. Thus one is dealing with prejudice if one dislikes another simply because that other person is a member of a different ethnic group, sex, or religion, etc.

In view of the above, it is interesting that the two concepts are common in that they help to establish or consolidate a superior status of one group compared to another group. One of the aims of multicultural education is to tackle the presence of stereotypes and prejudice. Many programs have been introduced by researchers in the field to help the students and teachers to eliminate or reduce stereotypes and prejudice (Johnson and Johnson, 2002, p.131 - 148; Tiedt and Tiedt, 2002, p.153 - 243).

The need for multicultural citizenship education

The need for multicultural citizenship education has been documented by many writers. Lister (1991, 138) has put forward a good case: 'Post-industrial societies have strong tendencies towards diversity and pluralism, and towards regional and local centers of power. They are polygeneric and multicultural, and their populations are both geographically and socially mobile'. Lister's meaning is that nowadays students should learn to live in a society that is diverse and plural in nature.

While Lister's viewpoint is valid, Bennet (1999, p.72) highlights that multicultural education is necessary because of the prevalence of prejudice and racism. She explained: 'Prejudice is an attitude based on preconceived judgments or beliefs that develop from unsubstantiated or faulty information'. On the other hand, according to her, racism involves systematic oppression through persistent behaviour that is the result of personal racial prejudice and racial discrimination within societal structures.

In addition, the tide of immigrants in the late twentieth century in many Western countries produced a more diverse student body. Hence tolerance and adjustment have become important goals for teachers in schools in these countries. This has been pointed out by Campbell (2000, p.19).

However, though the need for multicultural education has been documented, resistance to multiculturalism and multicultural education has been raised. For instance, in the last few years in post-unification Germany Neo-Nazism has become a

force which cannot be ignored. In February 2001, Hanson, who advocates the domination of white people in Australia, managed to take 10 percent of the votes during the legislature election in the country. Thus, though many researchers have reasserted the need and importance of multicultural education, the fact is that there are forces which object to it. The criticisms of multicultural education also deserve attention and they will be discussed below.

Short and Carrington (1999, p.174) drew attention to criticism of multiculturalism in Britain. The media, aided by new racist ideologies, have portrayed multicultural education and celebration of diversity as an alien and destabilizing intrusion, a threat, in other words, to the 'British way of life'. In fact, this is a common criticism not only in Britain but also in other countries such as Australia. However, this is not a fundamental criticism. This criticism is mostly raised by the very conservative and the so-called new Right. Nowadays, most politicians and policymakers have accepted the concept and idea of multiculturalism.

May (1999, p.1) has pointed to a more fundamental criticism of multiculturalism. As he mentioned, 'Multicultural education has had a largely negligible impact to date on the life chances of minority students, the racialized attitudes of majority students, the inherent monoculturalism of school practice, and the wider processes of power relations and inequality which underpin all these' and so 'multiculturalism has been charged with an overoptimistic view of the impact of the multiculturalism curriculum on the social and economic future of minority students'. Hence multicultural education has been criticized for a simplistic and naïve view of wider social and cultural power relations. This criticism has more elements of truth. So far, it seems that multicultural education has not been successful in raising the social status of

minority students.

In addition, May (1999, p.3) also points out that 'the influence of critical pedagogy is also prominent in recent developments linking multicultural education with wider issues of socio-economic and political inequality'. According to him, political issues surrounding the current organization of modern nation-states have likewise been brought into question. This includes a critique of the different apportionment of social and political access and power among different ethnic, cultural and social groups within the nation-states, and the reflection of these disparities, at least in part, in the cultural and linguistic hegemony which underpins its public sphere.

This criticism by May helps to throw light on the shortcomings of multicultural education which is being practiced in many schools. It helps practitioners to view the issue from another perspective and in a wider context.

Certainly, prejudice and racism are prominent features in many Western societies and multicultural education has its limitations. It is hoped that content and strategies of multicultural teaching and learning would be further improved to eradicate prejudice and racism. In Hong Kong prejudice against new immigrants has become an important issue in the society in the last few years.

Theories related to multicultural education

There has been discussion regarding the basic principles for managing cultural diversity. Coelho (1998, p.18 -22) has suggested some broad categories. They are

segregation, assimilation, cultural fusion and cultural pluralism. Briefly she argues that segregation entails the policy of legally enforced separation of different cultural and racial groups while assimilation is a one-way process of absorption whereby minorities abandon, at least publicly, their ethnic identities. On the other hand, cultural fusion differs from assimilation in that it involves a two-way process of adaptation and acculturation. In particular, fusion serves to incorporate diversity into the mainstream and, by so doing, change the mainstream. Some writers like to use the term integration. Finally, cultural pluralism involves creating a cohesive society where individuals of all backgrounds interact and participate equally, while maintaining their cultural identities.

Banks (1997, p.69) has written extensively on multicultural education. He conceptualizes multicultural education as a broad interdisciplinary field with five interrelated dimensions. They are (1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy, and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure. Briefly, content integration describes the ways in which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline. The knowledge construction process consists of the methods, activities, and questions used by teachers to help students to understand, investigate, and determine how implicit cultural assumptions, frames of reference, perspectives, and biases within a discipline influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed.

The prejudice reduction dimension describes the characteristics of students' racial attitudes and strategies that teachers can use to help them to develop more democratic

values and attitudes. An equity pedagogy exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse, racial, cultural, ethnic and gender groups. Finally, an empowering school culture and social structure conceptualizes the school as a complex social system, whereas the other dimensions deal with particular dimensions of a school or educational setting. The systemic view of schools requires that in order to effectively reform schools, the entire system must be restructured, not just some of its parts (Banks, 1997, p.70).

In addition, Banks also develops an approach to enhance content in the curriculum. Accordingly, the hierarchical model proposed by him has four levels. They are conceptualized as the 'contribution', 'additive', 'transformation' and 'social action' approaches.

The contribution approach attempts to include cultural material into the curriculum. For instance, children are informed about aspects of various places. This may include climate or music. Hence this approach exposes the student to basic facts or aspects of places which have been formerly unknown to him or her.

The additive approach is not much different from the contribution approach. According to this approach, cultural aspects and more content are included. As in the case of the contribution approach, basically facts are provided. Hence there are no substantive differences between the two approaches.

However, the transformation approach requires analysis on the part of the student. Hence perspectives from different groups, including the dominant and the oppressed, are presented. Thus students are given the opportunity to think critically.

Finally, the social action approach encourages students to develop solutions or make attempts to address problems. Accordingly, after carefully analyzing and evaluating a case, an action or solution is actually implemented. In sum, based on this approach thoughts are put into action.

Thus Banks provides useful frameworks for analyzing multicultural education.

Sleeter and Grant(1994) offer an alternative approach to multicultural education.

According to them, when multicultural education is put into practice, one of five approaches of instruction is generally used, namely, teaching the exceptional and culturally different, human relations, single group studies, multicultural education and education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist.

In more detail, the goal of teaching the exceptional and culturally different is to affirm the existing assimilationist ideology. In schools the purpose is to prepare students to acquire the habits and learn the academic basics to fit into mainstream society. It is argued that students of a racial minority need instructional help in the basics and that teachers are encouraged to build a bridge between the students' background and the curriculum.

For the human relations approach, the goals are to promote unity, tolerance, and acceptance within the existing social structure. In school the focus is to foster positive relations among students of diverse background and the personal characteristics that enable each student to develop a strong self-concept.

Accordingly, the growing recognition of people with different lifestyles and growing student diversity increases the need for the human relations approach.

The goals of the single group studies approach to multicultural education are to increase students' knowledge about the history and culture of their own groups. The single group studies approach argues that since knowledge is socially reconstructed and not neutral, it should be understood that portrayals of groups in text materials are based on the authors' interpretation and construction of knowledge.

The goals of the multicultural education approach are social equality and cultural pluralism. In this approach curriculum concepts are organized around the perspectives of people of different ethnic, gender, socioeconomic and ability groups and curriculum is culturally responsive to the culture, language and learning style of the students.

The goals of education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist are social structural equality and cultural pluralism. This approach supports most of the ideas of the multicultural education approach, including some of the ideas of the human relations approach and the ideology of social structural equality from the single group studies approach. Education, according to social reconstructionists, is a powerful vehicle for radical social transformation. In sum, the essence of education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist is to have a philosophical concept that explicitly articulates educational transformation in a society that addresses issues of race, class, gender, disability and sexual orientation.

Hence, Sleeter and Grant (1994) offer a useful framework for the conduct of multicultural education. It is obvious that to a certain extent the five approaches overlap with each other. The Sleeter and Grant typology has been adopted by some

researchers and educators. For instance, in her doctoral dissertation, Monseur (1997, p.149 - 325) used this framework and typology to examine the implementation of multicultural education by the principals and teachers in two middle schools in the Midwest of United States. In brief, Monseur's results showed that in the two schools the human relations and the multicultural education approaches are most commonly used by the teachers.

Both the framework of Sleeter and Grant and the conceptualization developed by Banks suggesting multicultural education as a broad interdisciplinary field with five interrelated dimensions are very well known. Regarding the later, it is considered that the dimension content integration is relatively simple to organize and should be more easily understood by primary pupils. The dimension of empowering school culture and social structure is valuable as it highlights that the entire school have to reform and change in order to meet the needs of different groups of pupils.

Regarding Sleeter and Grant's framework, the approach of teaching the exceptional and culturally different contradicts the principle of multicultural education as it just affirms the assimilationist ideology. On the other hand, the human relations approach is more acceptable as its goals are to promote tolerance and acceptance among people. Moreover, the multicultural approach is also advocated as its goals are to promote social equality and cultural pluralism. Though the approach of education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist is also to promote equality and cultural pluralism, the important goal of social transformation may not be achieved easily.

Strengthening multiple perspectives in curriculum and instruction and teaching for diversity

In light of the discussion above, many researchers in the field have advocated the promotion of multicultural education. Furthermore, they have made actual suggestions for its implementation. Tiedt and Tiedt (2002, p.18) suggest that a knowledge base for instruction for the multicultural curriculum should be identified. For instance, they argue that the outcomes for multicultural education should be clearly specified.

In addition, prejudice and stereotypes should be challenged. Thus, student perspectives should be widened. For instance, students could be taught to explore their neighbouring community and understand the contributions of different ethnic groups. In addition, perspectives can also be broadened through exploring language and linguistic diversity.

Bennet (1999, p.127) has suggested curriculum and instructional approaches to strengthen multicultural perspectives. Briefly, according to her, curriculum and instruction should center on achieving the following goals: understanding multiple historical perspectives, developing cultural consciousness, developing intercultural competence, combating racism, sexism and prejudice, raising awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics and finally, developing social action skills.

Focusing on creating equity conditions in school settings, Davidman and Davidman (1994, p.38 –52) suggest very detailed strategies and techniques to promote multicultural education. Prospective teachers can get useful advice from their

suggestions. As a first step, Davidman and Davidman advocate the setting of multicultural planning questions. For instance, a question can be asked to check if the lesson content and strategies promote cultural pluralism in society or intergroup harmony in the classroom.

Before the school year begins, it is suggested that developing an equity-oriented learning environment is crucial. Teachers should strive to discover as much as possible about their students, their families, and the communities they reside in. Hence, it is important that student records should be examined to discover their background. It is also essential that teachers have to plan to use co-operative learning. In addition, during the first four weeks or so, cross-cultural parent-teacher commitment is very important. This will help the parents to understand the work done by the teachers and recognize that support by the teachers can be expected.

In addition to cross-cultural parent-teacher communication, the two researchers also emphasize class-building activities at the start of the term. By this they mean the creation of curriculum and environment that promote intercultural, interethnic and intergroup understanding and harmony. The rationale is that a teacher's work will be greatly facilitated if students perceive and identify with the idea that they are part of a community of learners, a group that cares about each other's feelings, academic progress, and social development.

Finally, according to Davidman and Davidman, equity oriented teachers will engage in team-building activities after they have learned more about the special strengths and growth areas of individual students. Teachers will structure the small groups so that over the course of the year each student will work closely with students of

different ethnic and cultural background.

Thus Davidman and Davidman offer a more practical description of methods and strategies that can be adopted by teachers of multicultural education. Their approach is to focus on the creation of equity conditions in school settings.

The involvement of parents

In the above section the relevance of parent-teacher communication has already been mentioned. In fact, it is difficult to overemphasize the importance of the partnership between teachers and families. Research on the relationship between family environment and children's education was undertaken by Hidallgo et al (1995, p.499). Based on their findings four points can be emphasized. Firstly, in general, family practices pertaining to the education of their children are more important to student success in school than are family structure, class, race and age of the children. Secondly, families are able to compensate for limitations in resources through strengths in fostering supportive relationships with their children. Thirdly, the more effectively schools involve families, the less parental behaviour or student performance can be explained as a function of status variables. Fourthly, when schools create partnership programs, the participating families value the help, and their children's performance, attitudes and behaviour improve.

Banks and Banks (1997, p.409) have documented the reasons for the importance of parent involvement: 'Parent involvement is important because it acknowledges the importance of parents in the lives of their children, recognizing the diversity of values

and perspectives within the school community, provides a vehicle for building a collaborative problem-solving structure, and increases the opportunity for all students to learn in schools'.

In addition, according to the researchers, parents are often children's first and most important teachers. Students come to school with knowledge, values and beliefs they have learned from their parents and communities. Parents directly or indirectly help shape their children's value system. Hence parents can help teachers extend their knowledge and understanding of their students. Through this knowledge and understanding, teachers can improve their teaching effectiveness and conflict between the home environment and education in schools can be reduced.

Banks and Banks (1997, p.409) also argue that a harmonious environment between the school, home and community should be created. To achieve this, teachers need to understand their students' community and home life. Moreover, teachers need to be knowledgeable about parents' educational expectations for their children, language spoken at home, family and community values and norms, as well as how children are taught in their homes and communities. On the other hand, parents also need information about the school. Parents need to know what the school expects their children to learn, how they will be taught, and the required books and materials their children will use in school.

In Hong Kong in many schools parent-teacher associations have been formed to promote parents' involvement in the education of their children and enhance understanding between the parents and the teachers. The members of the association in a school consist of parents and teachers. However a committee consisting of the

elected representatives of teachers and parents are responsible for the running of the association. Regular meetings are held and activities are organized. In this way, a deeper understanding between the two sides will be promoted. In particular, parents will understand better the vision and work of the school. The extent of parent involvement is an important factor governing the success of the education of NAC in Hong Kong. In the present research, the extent of parent involvement will be examined and its implications will be discussed.

The influence of school and classroom contexts

It is true that in many Western countries great efforts have been made to strengthen multicultural teaching. However, to a certain extent the outcomes depend on the relevant school and classroom contexts.

According to Hernandez (2001, p.14), context can be described as ‘encompassing the larger national and global society in which education takes place, as well as the more immediate milieu of home, neighborhood, and community’. This is important and relevant to the present study as education in the school is affected by a whole set of factors. In fact, contexts can be represented as dynamically embedded within each other. According to Cole & Griffin (2000, p.7), the classroom is nestled within a multitude of increasingly broader contexts outside the school that include parents, district, community and more.

Moreover, according to Hernandez, exploration of the context involves process – interaction, social dynamics, organization and management as well as content –

curriculum, instructors and materials (Hernandez, 2001, p.22). Hernandez's suggestion is useful in that the importance of dynamics and interaction are highlighted. For instance, it is suggested that a teacher's expectation is an important contextual factor in the process of interaction. According to Gollnick and Chin (2002, p.67), students from lower socioeconomic background tend to be over represented among the ranks of low achievers. Hence teacher expectations, as evidenced through patterns of ability grouping and classroom interaction – may also be influenced by nonacademic student characteristics such as dress, language, cleanliness. Generally, such influences tend to work to the disadvantage of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and those speaking minority languages.

The situation in Hong Kong

In recent years in Hong Kong there has been more empirical research related to new immigrants. Wan (2001, p.205) has documented the reasons for the Mainland Chinese moving to Hong Kong in the last ten years. According to her analysis, family reunion is the most important reason for migrating to Hong Kong. Since the 1980s, it has been popular for many male Hong Kong residents to seek marriage in the Mainland; it is natural that their wives and their children born in the Mainland will move to Hong Kong at a later time.

In addition, some Mainlanders have migrated to Hong Kong in order to enjoy the better welfare provisions in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong in general people of lower class can enjoy lower priced or even free housing, education and other welfare provisions. However, they also have to take the more crowded and polluted living

environment into consideration.

Moreover, parents also encourage their children to move to Hong Kong to take advantage of the Western style of life. More exactly, according to Wan, Hong Kong is an international city and the people enjoy a high degree of freedom in areas such as freedom of speech.

Wan based her classification on her observation and experience as a social worker. However, it is considered that the first factor, namely, family reunion, is the most important reason for migration to Hong Kong.

Lee (1998, p.324) also investigated the issue of new immigrants moving to Hong Kong from China. He found evidence that the new immigrants in the 1990s are no longer as economically vibrant as those in the 1960s and the 1970s and they are more dependent on social welfare provisions. This helps to offer one explanation for the social exclusion of new immigrants. Their reliance on public welfare provision implies less availability for local people. Hence, competition for limited resources is not favourable to the development of harmonious relationship between the two groups.

Moreover, according to Lee, in the past twenty years or so, the people of Hong Kong have developed a strong sense of indigenous identity. In other words, many people of Hong Kong have a strong sense of commitment to culture and values which are being developed in Hong Kong. This finding has also been confirmed by Wong and Shum (1998) and has been mentioned previously. They conducted a survey in 1997 after the return of Hong Kong to China. 1035 young people aged 15-24 from Hong

Kong were telephone-interviewed. The two researchers found that: 'Although Hong Kong has been returned to China, the young people still maintained a strong indigenous identity' (Wong and Shum, 1998, p.21). By this the writers mean that the young people are satisfied with the development of Hong Kong and they display a very strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong. When there is a conflict of interest between Hong Kong and Mainland, the interest of Hong Kong would receive top priority. The presence of this phenomenon should also help to explain some of the difficulties encountered by new immigrants. Briefly, although the new immigrants are also Chinese, the cultures of the two groups are different and the harmonious mixing of the two groups is not easy.

In 1998 several articles on new immigrant children were collected into one volume. Researchers argued that the Newly Arrived Children are subjected to great pressure. The pressure arises as a result of changes in cultural environment, as well as poor living conditions, poor health and difficulties encountered in schools (Wu, Choi, and Li, 1998, p.176).

According to another group of researchers, one prominent feature is the forced downgrading of forms in schools after these new immigrant school children have arrived. In other words, though in Hong Kong youth around age 13 are supposed to study in secondary forms, a considerable proportion of new immigrants of that age have to enroll in primary schools (Chan, Yip & Yuen, 1996, p.26). In addition, according to the same researchers, of all of the new immigrant schoolchildren, around 60% come from cities in Mainland China while 33% come from villages. Furthermore 73% speak Cantonese, the local dialect of Hong Kong. More significantly, the survey shows that around 50% of the parents of these children are

manual workers. Only 7% of the parents become professional workers after they have arrived in Hong Kong. The above figures are important. For instance, the immigrants from rural areas may take a longer time to adapt to the life in Hong Kong. In addition, as only 7% of the parents are professionals in Hong Kong, this implies that they belong to the working class after they have arrived in the territory. Many sociologists point out that working class pupils are at a relative disadvantage position in the education system. They lack 'cultural capital' in order to advance to higher social strata (Bourdieu, 1997, 125).

The implications of the above argument have not been widely recognized. The survey by Chan et al (1996) suggests that a large majority of NAC come from families that lack the professional background to prosper in Hong Kong society. Even within the PRC they were not among the more affluent and "upward mobile" sections of the population. Economically, they are among the most disadvantaged people in Hong Kong. The situation of NAC has as much to do with social and economic disadvantage as with cultural differences, even though the latter are important.

According to Chan, Yip & Yuen (1996, p.6), there are three dimensions associated with the adaptation of new immigrants to the community. They are the individual dimension, the group dimension and the societal dimension. Regarding the individual dimension, the main problems faced by immigrant children in Hong Kong are the tackling of school work, the language problem and change in family structure after arrival in Hong Kong. For the group dimension, the main difficulties are related to a) the establishment of a harmonious relationship with neighbours, friends and relatives, b) the establishment of a good relationship with classmates and peers and c) adaptation to life in the school. For the societal dimension, the main

difficulties are the inadequate support provided to the new immigrants by the government and the differences in culture and values. In the context of this research, factors associated with the group and societal dimensions are particularly relevant. According to these researchers, most new immigrants manage to adapt to the life in Hong Kong as a result of help from family, relatives and friends.

From the perspective of a psychologist, J. Chan (1998, p.4) explains that in the first year of arrival in Hong Kong, new immigrants from China experience new circumstances which make adjustment painful. According to him, the main changes are related to the value system, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the political setting and culture. However, there are also changes internal to oneself. They are related to one's identity, self image, attitude, interest, outlook and subjective interpretation of career prospect. Chan maintains that the change experienced and the associated degree of adjustment when moving from the Mainland to Hong Kong should be less than that which is experienced by a Chinese migrating to a Western country. The reason suggested by Chan is that the immigrant has just moved from one Chinese society to another Chinese society. As examples of differences between the Mainland and Hong Kong, Chan highlights that in the schools of China there is the raising of national flags every week. However in Hong Kong this is not the case. Moreover in Mainland China the school authority pays more attention to strict discipline and the fostering of a sense of responsibility and mission. However, in Hong Kong schools emphasizes the development of an open atmosphere and achieving good academic results (Chan, 1998, p.5).

Finally, the same writer also suggests that lack of good communication between the new immigrant children and their local classmates as well as their teacher poses a

great problem. For instance, the new immigrant may not fully understand the Cantonese spoken, nor the traditional version of Chinese character which is used in Hong Kong. In addition, his lifestyle, habits, etc. will be different from that in Hong Kong and so he or she may be mocked and despised by classmates because of this (Chan, 1998, p.7).

Lee (1998, p.281) attempted to investigate environmental factors conducive to adaptation and academic success for new immigrants from Mainland China. Her research methodology included the in-depth interviewing of six newly arrived immigrant pupils. According to her findings, support from family is more important than support from school, and children liked to share good news with parents and family members but not with teachers or peers. Lee also found that the younger the children, the easier was the adaptation. As suggested by her, 'In lower primary, repeating the same grade may not be necessary if the children are already good in Chinese and Mathematics, and they put their effort in English. However, for upper primary, adaptation is more difficult. It takes much longer time for pupils to catch up with the other Hong Kong pupils. Most successful cases are repeaters or those who study two grades lower than in Mainland China' (Lee, 1998, p.295). Lee's conclusion is logical. It usually takes a longer time for an adolescent to adapt and adjust to a new cultural environment than for younger pupils.

Au Yeung and Ng (2000, p.351 -353) emphasize four difficulties that are often encountered by the NAC in relation to their education in Hong Kong. Firstly, the NAC face the problem of securing school places in Hong Kong. Though the Education Department provides them with information about schools in Hong Kong, in many situations the NAC are discriminated against by schools. For example,

some schools are not willing to admit NAC though vacant places are available.

Second, the NAC also experience language problems when they first arrive in Hong Kong. The reason is that in China the simplified version of written Chinese characters is used. But in Hong Kong the traditional version of written Chinese character is used instead. Moreover, in Hong Kong Cantonese, a local Chinese dialect, is very widely spoken. However, some NAC do not speak any Cantonese before they settle in Hong Kong. As mentioned previously, only 73 percent of the NAC speak Cantonese (Chan, Yip & Yuen, 1996, p.18).

Thirdly, the school curriculum in China is quite different from that in Hong Kong. Thus it is difficult for them to adapt. In particular, the NAC have great difficulties in catching up with the required standard in English. It is common that they experience setbacks and frustration during the process of adaptation.

Finally, the NAC also have to adapt to the culture of schooling in Hong Kong. For instance, in Hong Kong school children often have to work very hard to finish their homework. In addition, most NAC have to make a great effort to adjust to the examination oriented curriculum in Hong Kong.

Au Yeung and Ng's (2000) suggestions have elements of truth. However, of the four aspects, the language problems and the change in school curriculum are the main areas which the NAC have found most difficult to tackle. In particular, learning English is a problem for most NAC.

Au Yeung and Ng also point out that the support networks for the NAC are also

weakened after they have settled in Hong Kong. This refers to the family network which includes parents, siblings and other relatives, the community network which includes neighbours as well as the peers network such as classmates and friends.

A group of researchers have conducted a needs analysis for the education of NAC (Yuen, Choi, Cheong & Wong, 2000). Briefly, the results of their study are mixed. On the one hand, quite a few NAC have high motivation and good self-discipline in their learning and in their classroom behaviour. Quite a few NAC obtained outstanding results after a short period of schooling in Hong Kong. On the other hand, some NAC were rather passive in their study. Moreover, the researchers have also pointed out that NAC have difficulties in adjusting to a new school setting. Their study has also highlighted the fact that there is a cultural transformation in schools which admit a high percentage of NAC. Inevitably the principals and the teachers in these schools have to tackle problems as a result of the presence of the NAC. As has been pointed out previously, education in these schools is in a multicultural context and this sets the context for this study.

Yuen (2003, p.76 – 89) suggests approaches to multicultural teaching in the classroom in Hong Kong. For instance, she recommends teachers to lengthen the pause time after questions have been delivered to cater for the abilities of pupils of different cultural background. In addition, she also suggests that discussion among pupils in a multicultural classroom should be stimulated to promote their friendship.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, in Hong Kong the society is characterized by multiculturalism. However, it is also important to highlight the differences between the situation in Hong Kong and that in the Western countries. First, in many Western

countries, families of many minority students have experienced a long history of discrimination, including racism. But this is not true in the same way of NAC in Hong Kong. NAC are also Chinese and regarding this aspect there is a marked difference compared with the immigrant groups in many Western countries. Second, for many minority groups in the West, particularly those from Asia and Africa, the legacy of colonialism and slavery, with its assumption of cultural inferiority, is still relevant. But this is not the case with NAC in Hong Kong.

Third, many students in many Western countries experience problems associated with differences in language, religion and skin colour. Again, this is not true of most NAC in Hong Kong. Finally, minority students in the West regard it as important to maintain their own cultural heritage, distinct from that of the host country but this is not so true of families of NAC in Hong Kong. Thus the problems encountered by NAC are not typical of the problems encountered by minority students in multi-cultural situations, and hence the multicultural literature should not be taken as relevant without qualification.

In recent years there has been expansion in educational research undertaken in Hong Kong. However, very little systematic research has been done in Hong Kong to investigate the provision of citizenship education to newly arrived immigrant children from Mainland China. For example, there has been very little research to examine the policies of schools which admit predominantly immigrant children and the difficulties encountered by the teachers in these school. The aim of this piece of research is to start to fill this gap.

Conclusions and questions arising from the literature

In this chapter the concept of acculturation has been discussed. Furthermore, an examination of various aspects related to citizenship and civic education has also been made. A brief examination of the situation of civic education in Hong Kong and the mode of civic education in Mainland China has been presented. As this piece of research aims to investigate the adjustment of NAC and the role of civic education in these schools, in this chapter theories of multicultural education and related concepts have also been discussed. Finally, various aspects related to the education of NAC in Hong Kong is examined.

It is important to highlight the relevance of previous sections to the section on Hong Kong. First, though in recent years there has been more discussion on the education of NAC in Hong Kong, there is still not adequate understanding about the adjustment of the NAC in primary schools to the life in Hong Kong. In particular, it is not known to what extent and how the concept of acculturation can be applied. Furthermore, there is evidence of pressure on NAC to assimilate but it is not clear whether this exists in schools with a high number of NAC.

Similarly, in Hong Kong civic education is implemented in primary and secondary schools. But very little is known about the operation of civic education curriculum in schools which admit a high number of NAC and how far, if at all, it is influenced by ideas such as those of Banks as well as Sleeter and Grant.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction – scope of the chapter

The overall aim of the research is to investigate to what extent and how Newly Arrived Children (NAC) have adjusted to the school and social environment in Hong Kong. In addition, the study also aims to investigate how civic education is taking place in these schools. Hence the research methodology has to match the purpose of the study.

After a thorough discussion of the related literature, the research questions emerge. Although there has been some research on issues related to NAC and also on various aspects of civic education in schools in Hong Kong, the implementation of civic education in these schools has attracted very little attention. Thus the form of civic education in schools which admit a large number of NAC and the problems encountered deserve investigation.

Some researchers have discussed the problems encountered by NAC and their families in Hong Kong (Lee, 1998, p.324 - 329). However, a more systematic investigation of NAC regarding the aspects of language, identification and school life is needed. Preparation to move to Hong Kong and nostalgia for their roots in China are other issues for investigation. Moreover, it is also essential to examine how and to what extent multicultural education theories can be applied.

In addition to the overall aim, there are four more specific research questions:

a/What are the patterns of interaction between the Newly Arrived Children and other children in the schools?

b/In what ways and to what extent have Newly Arrived Children adjusted to the culture and environment in Hong Kong?

c/What are the aims and policies to promote civic education in selected primary schools in Hong Kong which admit a large number of Newly Arrived Children?

d/What are the problems faced by these schools in promoting civic education?

In this chapter issues related to methodology will be discussed. These include the choice of methodology, the design of the questionnaire and interview schedule, the way samples and participants are selected as well as the procedure for data collection. In particular, during the discussion, justification of the methodology and the difficulties involved will be highlighted. Thus additional research questions (c) and (d) are tackled by using qualitative interviews. For research questions (a) and (b) it is considered that the most appropriate method to collect data is the administering of a questionnaire to primary 5 and primary 6 pupils. However, the interviews also help to supplement the questionnaires to answer these two research questions. The discussion and justification of the choice of methodology is discussed in the following section.

Choice of methodology

At the start it is important to justify the use of quantitative and qualitative methods for different research questions. However, before the justification a brief discussion and comparison of qualitative and quantitative approaches is essential.

According to Wiersma (1995, p.234), qualitative research does not emphasize a theoretical base for whatever is being studied at the beginning of the research.

However, quantitative research tends to be more theory-based. Certainly, theories are not always identified explicitly in quantitative research but the theoretical underpinnings exist in one form or another.

Furthermore, Wiersma also argues that qualitative research emphasizes a holistic interpretation. Facts and values are perceived as inextricably mixed. On the other hand, quantitative research looks for more context-free generalizations. It is much more willing to focus on individual variables and factors, rather than concentrating on holistic interpretation.

In addition, according to Wiersma, qualitative research is done for the purpose of understanding social phenomena while quantitative research is carried out to determine relationships, effects and causes. Because of this, overall quantitative research is more attuned to standardized research procedures and predetermined design than qualitative research.

MacMillan (2000, p.253) has further summarized the key features of qualitative research. He argues that a qualitative researcher studies behaviour as it occurs

naturally and there is no manipulation or control of behaviour or settings. In addition, qualitative researchers approach a situation with the assumption that nothing is trivial or unimportant. Thus every detail that is recorded is thought to contribute to a better understanding of behaviour. Moreover, qualitative researchers do not formulate hypotheses and gather data to prove or disprove them. Rather, the data are gathered first and then synthesized to generate generalizations. Finally, qualitative researchers try to reconstruct reality as the participants they are studying see it. They do not apply predetermined definitions or ideas about how people will think or react.

However, it is considered that there are problems with this qualitative/quantitative contrast. Though the comments by Wiersma (1995) and MacMillan (2000) are frequently quoted, three points should be made about them. First, quantitative research is not necessarily theory based. For instance, many quantitative surveys are conducted without a strong theoretical basis or theoretical underpinnings. Second, it is true that much qualitative researches is done for the purpose of understanding social phenomena. However, according to Bryman (2001, p.134), quantitative research also frequently involves the study of meanings in the form of attitude scales and other techniques.

Third, Bryman also points out that there may be manipulations of behaviour or settings in qualitative research. For instance, interviews still have to be arranged and interviewees have to be taken away from activities that they would otherwise be engaged in. Moreover, during interviews interviewees are usually aware that they are being interviewed rather than engaged in normal conversations (p.436).

In this piece of research, the researcher needs a methodology which will provide detailed information about each research question. To tackle research questions (a) and (b) a survey is considered appropriate. To investigate aspects of the adjustment to the culture and environment in Hong Kong, groups of pupils including NAC in the sample schools were selected as informants. Previous research provided a starting point and basis for design of the survey. Based on previous evidence, relationships can be hypothesized and tested. For example, a comparison of NAC's and non-NAC's responses to questions can be made. Another example is the use of factor analysis to examine other issues. These will be discussed in greater detail when the quantitative results are analyzed.

In addition to the above, there was a more practical reason for using a survey. The literature review showed a lack of empirical evidence about NAC; consequently it was more appropriate to carry out a survey. This had the advantage of drawing information from a larger and hopefully more representative sample. By using the questionnaire, a more general picture of the relevant aspects could be collected. Moreover, the questionnaire was used as was not possible to arrange in-depth interviews with pupils in the sample schools.

In contrast, a qualitative method was used to answer research questions (c) and (d). These two research questions focused on the aims, policies and the problems faced by the schools in promoting civic education. There was no deliberate attempt to manipulate the behaviour or settings. In other words, data was allowed to unfold and be discovered. In addition to this, interviews enabled the researcher to pay attention to very small points provided by the informants. Even seemingly minor details may help to throw light on important aspects related to the research questions.

For these two research questions a survey of teachers and principals was considered but rejected for two reasons: first, it was anticipated that there would be serious practical problems in obtaining a large enough sample and a high response rate; second, it was felt that richer material would be obtained by interviews. Further, the interviews would also provide supplementary information for research questions (a) and (b).

Moreover, the researcher aimed to seek information about the informants' experience and to understand their perspectives. Hence in this case semi-structured interviews were considered the most appropriate method of collecting data. The outstanding feature of an interview is that it involves the collection of data through direct verbal interaction between individuals. An advantage of an interview is its adaptability. The well-trained interviewer can make full use of the responses of the subject to alter the interview situation. In other words, further probing is possible when the interview is in progress. As explained by Macmillan (2000, p.106), 'by establishing a proper rapport with the subject, a skilled interviewer can enhance motivation and obtain information that might not otherwise have been offered'.

Another advantage of interviews is that they permit much greater depth than other methods of collecting data. The interview method of data collection is especially useful in this research as the researcher is looking for description of experience in which the focus is on the details and quality of the data and not on the numbers of informants who respond in a particular way.

Certainly there are disadvantages associated with interviews. The main

disadvantage is that the interpersonal situation may lead to subjectivity and possible bias. A possible reason for this is the tendency of the interviewer to get answers that support his preconceived ideas. Another disadvantage is that it is very time-consuming. It is hoped that a very careful planning of the interview may lessen the seriousness of these limitations.

As mentioned above, the interview was semi-structured. By this the researcher means that though pre-specified questions are set, more in-depth and free expression by the respondents is encouraged. An unstructured interview was considered inappropriate as the material collected would be likely to become too loose and unorganized. So during the interview, the researcher tried to ensure that the interviewee did not digress far from the issue.

Design of pupil questionnaire and sample selection

As usual, the first part of the questionnaire was devoted to the provision of background information on the subject. This information forms an important and integral part of the questionnaire. There were altogether 9 items to be filled in by the pupils in this section. The exact details of the questionnaire are contained in appendix I. The content of the questionnaire was intended to be explicit and self-explanatory. However, some elaboration is needed. For item a, the age filled in by the pupils included the year above that age level. For instance, if a pupil's age is 11, this means that he or she had just passed her eleventh birthday but not reached the twelfth birthday. For item d (length of residence in Hong Kong), the choice 1 or 2 years refers to a duration of stay from just one year to a maximum of three years.

So if a pupil chooses this option, this means that he or she may have lived in Hong Kong for just 365 days or for a maximum period of 2 years and 364 days. These instructions were given to the teachers in written form through the school principals. Moreover, these instructions were also presented in the questionnaires distributed to the pupils.

For items g and h, the choices set were somewhat arbitrary. However, the choices are to some extent based on the literature in Hong Kong. According to the literature, most of the families of the Newly Arrived Children in Hong Kong are in manual occupations (Hung, 1998, p.161). More specifically, most of the parents of the NAC are workers, salesmen, drivers, etc. For item g, the choice of housewife is added as it is still quite common for a woman to perform household tasks after she has married.

The researcher originally intended to add the category of unemployed in the two items g and h. However, it was considered that the wording might be too sensitive or embarrassing. Hence after serious consideration this option was not included in question items g and h.

There were two sections in the main part of the questionnaire with a total of thirty-two questions. The first section comprised questions 1 to 21 and were to be filled in by every pupil in the class, no matter whether Hong Kong children or NAC. The second section comprised questions 22 to 32, to be filled only by NAC. More specifically, they were to be filled in by the pupils who were born in China and had stayed in Hong Kong for less than seven years. The exact details of the questions, the reasons for including them in the questionnaire and the method of analysis will be discussed later.

In the questionnaire, 27 of the 32 questions were in the form of multiple choices. There are reasons for using closed questions. As put by Fraenkel & Wallen (1996, p.324), 'closed-ended questions are easy to use, score and code for analysis on a computer. Since the subjects respond to the same options, standardized data are provided'. Each question is in the form of a Likert Scale with 4 choices. Thus the choices for each question were Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree and Strongly Disagree. It was hoped that after careful thought, the pupils would make the most appropriate choices out of the four options.

Section one, the first 21 questions, was to be answered by every pupil in the class, no matter whether local children or NAC. At this stage, the researcher did not aim to explain the content of each question in detail. The rationale of each of these questions will become more explicit when the treatment and analysis of data is explained. Basically questions 1, 2, 4 and 9 were related to the degree of Hong Kong Identity. Questions 3 and 5 were related to the degree of national (Chinese) identity. Questions 6, 7 and 8 were related to the adaptation to the cultural environment in Hong Kong. Questions 10, 11, 12, 13, 16 and 17 were related to the adaptation to the life in the schools where the pupils were studying.

In addition, questions 18, 19, 20 and 21 were open-ended free response questions. The purpose of setting these questions was to probe more deeply the pupils' understanding of the physical and social environment in Hong Kong. In fact, more questions could have been set in order to check responses in this aspect. However, the researcher decided not to use them as the questionnaire would have become too long for the pupils to answer conscientiously.

The second section (questions 22-31) was only completed by the NACs, that is, those who were not born in Hong Kong and who had arrived in the territory for less than seven years. Of them, questions 24, 28, 29 and 31 investigated the degree of nostalgia felt by the NAC. For instance, for question 31, if the pupil strongly disagreed that he liked his classmates in Hong Kong better than those in China, a high degree of nostalgia was implied.

The rest of the questions are more explicitly concerned with the degree of adjustment to the social environment in Hong Kong. This will become obvious when questions 22, 23, 25, 26, 27 and 30 are examined. This issue will be further tackled when the quantitative data is analyzed.

Questionnaires were distributed to five classes of pupils in two primary schools with a high percentage of NAC. Of these five classes, three were p.6 pupils while the other two were p.5 pupils. For school A, pupils of one p.6 class answered the questions. For school B two p.5 and two p.6 classes filled in the questionnaires. The questionnaires were not administered to pupils of lower classes as they were considered too young to answer them. The number of questions had to be limited as p.5 and p.6 pupils lack the patience to complete a long questionnaire. Furthermore, a primary school schedule is usually tight and many teachers are not willing to take up too much of their time to perform the task.

Design of interview schedule - Qualitative data

In order to answer the research questions (c) and (d), the interviewing of school principals, teachers, counseling teacher/school social worker was considered necessary. The school principal was interviewed as the manager and chief policymaker in the school. In particular, it was hoped to obtain important information from the principal on the aims and policies for promoting civic education and the problems encountered.

Teachers were interviewed as they help to disclose how policies are actually implemented and other aspects of policymaking. This is important as teachers are frontline workers who actually teach in the classroom and who have most contact with pupils.

Interviews with school social workers and counseling teachers aimed to supplement the information provided by the principals and the teachers. More importantly, they have handled problem cases. In this way, more details related to the adjustment of NAC to the environment in Hong Kong could be provided. Finally, interviews with teacher trainers aimed to supplement the background to civic education in Hong Kong and civic education for NAC in primary schools.

Interview questions for school principals

As pointed out above, interviews of school principals sought information on the aims of civic education and the policies to promote civic education, as well as the problems encountered. The full interview schedules for teachers, school principals and teacher-trainers is listed in appendix II. At this stage an explanation and justification of the interview questions is necessary. Question i of the interview schedule for the

principals is explicitly on the aims of civic education in the school. However, it is also important to highlight how schools with a high proportion of NAC differ from other schools in Hong Kong. Thus questions ii and iii tackle these issues.

Question iv is explicitly on the policies to achieve the aims. Questions v and vi aim to elicit information on the roles of the formal, the informal curriculum and the hidden curriculum in promoting civic education. Question x is specifically on activities provided by the schools. Emphasis is put on school activities as they are important elements of the hidden curriculum. Question viii is asked to elicit information on the problems involved. Finally, questions vii and ix are specifically on issues related to NAC. In particular, question vii is on the interaction between NAC and the local children. Regarding questions on various aspects of civic education, it is important that there should be a major framework so that the questions set will not become unorganized. The researcher considers that the Guidelines on Civic Education in Schools (1996, Hong Kong Education Department) should help to provide this important framework.

Interview questions for teachers

Questions i, ii and iii are on the subjects taught by the teacher and how civic education is taught through his or her subject. In addition question iii elicits the teachers' views on the hidden curriculum and the informal curriculum, and question iv is on the complications involved as a result of presence of NAC in the school.

Questions v and vi focus on the interaction between the NAC and the local children and how the teacher has helped to promote a harmonious relationship between the two groups. Finally questions vii to ix are on aspects of the adaptation of NAC to life in

Hong Kong.

Interview questions for school social worker and counseling teacher

The information provided by social workers and counseling teachers is supplementary in nature in this research. Emphasis is put on the cases which he or she has handled and the complications that may possibly be generated by the presence of NAC in the schools.

Interview questions for teacher-trainers

As the 1996 Guidelines on Civic Education remains the main policy document for schools, the interviewees, as teacher-trainers, were asked to comment on various aspects of the document. In particular, they were asked to comment on the changes after 1997. They were also asked to comment on the resources provided by the government for the implementation of civic education in primary schools. A question was asked on the balance of formal and informal curriculum in primary schools regarding the implementation of civic education. Finally, a question was asked on the government's effort to promote civic education in primary schools with a high percentage of NAC. The interview questions for principals, teachers and teacher-trainers are listed in the appendix.

Sample and Participant selection

School samples selection

The number of schools and participants in the research is governed by the scope of the research and the level of depth required. In brief, the researcher only aimed to choose a small number of schools and participants for investigation. As depth of investigation is very important, choosing a large sample was not possible. Apart from the factors of depth and the scope of the research, the actual choice of samples was also governed by the accessibility of data. It is emphasized that due to the small number of schools chosen and the accessibility of data, the sample of schools could not claim to be representative and this is suggested as one of the limitations of the research. In summary one reason for the choice of schools is that the principals of these schools were willing to help and participate in the study. Though the number of schools available was small, 179 primary 5 and primary 6 pupils answered the questions. This is considered a reasonable number for statistical analysis.

Thus the researcher will be cautious about generalizing from the study. Basically three schools were chosen for the study. One was a large school (School B). The researcher managed to interview the school principal, five teachers and the school social worker. Questionnaires were distributed to two classes of primary 5 and two classes of primary six pupils.

In the second school (school A), with the approval of the principal, the vice principal, the counseling teacher, and three teachers were interviewed. Questionnaires were distributed to one class of primary six pupils. The researcher also managed to interview the principal of a third school (school C). However, on grounds of inconvenience and busy schedules, she refused to allow interviews with the teachers

of the school.

Selection of participants

In this section, the choice of individuals for interviews and the choice of classes completing pupils' questionnaires will be explained. For school A as the principal was busy the vice principal was interviewed instead. The school social worker is normally able to provide sound information on matters related to discipline and personal problems of students. However, as school A did not have a social worker, the counseling teacher acted as a substitute. For this school three other teachers were chosen for interview basing on the recommendation of the school principal. As far as possible, the researcher tried to select teachers of different subjects for interview. In addition, the researcher also attempted to select teachers with different years of teaching experience. The details of the background of the teachers in school A and school B selected for interview is listed in table 1.

Table 1

Background of the teachers in school A

Teacher	Counseling teacher	A	B	C
Sex	Female	Male	Female	Female
Teaching Experience	12 years	5 years	4 years	15 years
Subjects Taught	Chinese, Mathematics	English, Mathematics, Art, General Studies	Chinese, Mathematics, Computer, Putonghai,	Chinese, Mathematics, Physical Education

Table 2

Background of the teachers in school B

Teacher	A	B	C	D	E
Sex	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female
Teaching Experience	3 years	8 years	10 years	2 years	2 years
Subjects Taught	Chinese, Putonghai, General Studies, Mathematics	English, Music, Religious Education	Chinese, Mathematics, Physical Education	Chinese, Music, English, General Studies	English, General Studies

The whole process of data collection took place from Dec 2000 to April 2002. In fact, except for the interview of one teacher-trainer, the data was collected from Dec 2000 to Jan 2001. The dates of data collection are shown in the table below.

Questionnaires were distributed to one class of primary six pupils. The questionnaires were not administered to pupils of primary four or below as they were considered too young to answer them.

In school B the principal agreed to be interviewed. As the school social worker was available in the school she was also interviewed. The criteria for the selection of teachers for school A also applied to school B. For school B five teachers of different subjects were invited for interview. Of these five teachers, one was a senior teacher with teaching experience of around 20 years while the rest were junior teachers with teaching experience of a few years. They were also invited to take part following a recommendation from the school principal. In this school questionnaires were distributed to two classes of primary five and two classes of primary six pupils. It is emphasized that the choice of teacher participants was also governed by practical

considerations. In both school A and B not every teacher was willing to be interviewed although they were invited to do so by the principals.

For school C only the school principal was interviewed. According to the principal, the teachers were too busy to participate in an interview.

Thus as pointed out previously, the choice of schools and actual participants was largely governed by practical considerations. In other words, the schools and participants in the research were not chosen randomly. Nevertheless, the researcher made an attempt to raise the representativeness of the sample.

Procedure for data collection

Table 3 - Dates for data collection

12 Dec 2000	6 Mar 2001	18 May 2001	9 Nov 2001	16 Dec 2001	4 April 2002
Visit to school A, interview of the vice principal, one teacher and the counseling teacher, questionnaire distributed to one class of p.6 pupils	Visit to school B, interview of the principal, five teachers and the school social workers, questionnaires distributed to two classes of p.5 and two classes of p.6 pupils	Visit to school C, interview of the principal,	Second visit to school A, interview of two teachers	Interview of teacher-trainer A	Interview of teacher-trainer B

Except for the interview with the two teacher-trainers, interviews were not taped. The reason was that the three schools principals did not allow the taping of the interviews. Though the interviews were not taped, the data thus collected were transcribed immediately after the interview and coded in as much detail as possible.

The duration of interviews varied. The interview with the school principals lasted from one hour fifteen minutes and to one hour thirty minutes. For the teachers, counseling teachers and social workers, the interviews lasted around an hour.

The questionnaires were distributed to the pupils by their form teachers. To make sure the pupils understood the content of the questionnaire, the researcher explained the questionnaire content in detail to the principals of schools A and B. They in turn agreed to explain it to the form teachers concerned. In addition, to avoid vagueness, the wording of the questions was as explicit as possible in the questionnaire. All the pupils in the five classes returned the questionnaires and the number of questionnaires received for analysis totaled 179.

Outline of method of analysis

Translations into English

The questionnaires and the interviews were carried out in Cantonese. Translations into English were the responsibility of the researcher. Subsequently a native Cantonese speaker with a good command of English translated the questionnaires and the interview transcripts back into Cantonese, demonstrating the accuracy of the

translations. This, hopefully, did not reveal any significant problems.

Analysis of the qualitative data

The researcher followed standard procedures for qualitative analysis. As the researcher did not have permission from the principals of the schools, the interviews were not taped. However, a great effort was made to report replies as accurately as possible. Notes were made during the interviews and were written up in as much detail as possible immediately afterwards. Following the suggestions by Johnson & Christensen (2000, p. 428), the information from the transcripts was segmented and coded. As Johnson & Christensen put it, 'segmenting involves dividing the data into meaningful analytical units' while 'coding is the process of marking segments of data with symbols'. Thus segmenting entails generating segments, or categories of response, based on an initial reading; these were then refined or developed by several further readings of the transcripts. After that, the segmented and coded data were grouped into meaningful categories. Finally, by examining the categories and further analysis, patterns should emerge. Thus, the whole process of qualitative analysis was carried out in an inductive manner.

Data analysis began immediately after each interview had been completed. The simultaneous collecting and analysis of data facilitates the developing of emerging themes. Thus data analysis involved summarizing data into themes and categories. To achieve this, the data collected was thoroughly read.

As stressed by Johnson & Christensen (2000, p.432), there are two types of codes, inductive and prior codes. Inductive codes are the codes or category names

generated directly from data. This reflects the inductive nature of most qualitative research. According to Johnson & Christensen, prior codes are codes which are developed before or at the very beginning of the research study. The researcher may establish prior codes before data collection based on their relevance to the research questions.

For the qualitative study in this piece of research, the researcher mainly used inductive codes. However, reference to relevant literature contributes to the developing of these inductive codes during the analysis of data.

As also highlighted by Johnson & Christensen (2000, p.434), 'categories are the basic building blocks of qualitative data analysis because qualitative researchers make sense of their data by identifying and studying the categories that appear in their data.' As furthered suggested by them, 'Rather than having to think about each sentence or each word in the data, the researcher will, after coding the data, be able to focus on the themes and relationships suggested by the classification system'. Thus the categories allow the data to be summarized and reported in a systematic and accurate manner.

The first step was to review the data in order to determine tentative categories. Next, the data was coded using the tentative scheme. The categorized scheme underwent revisions until the data were able to be classified using the scheme with no redundancy of categories. Thus the data was compared and examined to identify patterns and relationships.

The researcher did not use computer software to analyze the qualitative data. In

addition, as mentioned previously, the researcher preferred to analyze the teachers' interview as a whole and not on a school basis. This means that the analysis is not considered in the form of case study.

The reason for not using the computer software for analysis of qualitative data is that for research of this scale the volume of data is not enormous. Thus the data is not difficult to analyze without the assistance of computer. More importantly, a greater degree of flexibility is allowed. Provided that the procedure for data analysis is followed, the validity of the results should not be jeopardized.

During the analysis, the researcher followed the research questions and made sure that they would be tackled appropriately. Whenever appropriate, the interview data was quoted to support views and suggestions. Again it is emphasized that the researcher did not aim to generalize the results for all situations in Hong Kong.

Analysis of Questionnaire Data

Data analysis aimed to provide useful information that would help to answer the research questions. In presentation of the questionnaire data a very clear structure is important. The details are explained and discussed below.

Firstly, the background of the respondents had to be described and analyzed. Hence the details of the whole sample are provided. This includes the distribution of every variable from item a to i. The researcher had chosen the age, members of the family living in Hong Kong, and the number of brothers and sisters as selected variables for analysis. Chi-square was used to determine if the obtained proportions in the above

categories differed significantly from the expected proportions with reference to the length of stay of the pupils in Hong Kong.

Secondly, the self perception of local pupils and NAC in relation to home and school had to be analyzed. Cross tabs presentation of data in questions 1 – 17 were compiled for the whole sample with means and standard deviation. ANOVA was applied to compare the local pupils and the two groups of NAC. In addition to that, principal components analysis was applied to items 1-17 to generate subscales. After that, mean ratings for local pupils and NAC are compared on each subscale.

Questions 18-21 are more qualitative in nature. The responses of HKC and NAC were combined for analysis. The analysis involved the generation of categories of response. Then the frequencies of responses for local pupils and NAC were compared.

Thirdly, the influences on adjustment of NAC were analyzed. This involves the description of the means and standard deviation for questions 22 to 31. Next, subscales were developed using principal components analysis. Subsequently the mean ratings on these subscales were correlated with the subscale ratings of HKC on items 1-17. Finally, question 32 was analyzed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS OF PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE

Background and personal details of the pupil participants

Frequency distribution of the personal details of the participants

Before the actual analysis, a description of the background and personal details of the participants is necessary (Tables 1 - 9). The frequency distribution of the personal details of the participants is presented in tables one to nine. Attention is drawn to the fact that for some variables, two or three pupils failed to fill in the information. This is evident from numbers in the relevant tables.

Table 4

Age distribution of the participants (N = 179)

Age	9	10	11	12	13 or above	Total
Frequency	0	3	31	40	105	179
(percent)	(0)	(1.7)	(17.3)	(22.3)	(58.7)	(100.0)

Table 5

Number of the participants by sex (N=176)

Sex	Male	Female	Total
Frequency	97	79	176
(Percent)	(55.1)	(44.9)	(100)

Table 6

Places of birth of the participants (N=179)

Place of birth	Mainland China	Hong Kong	Total
Frequency (percent)	120 (67)	59 (33)	179 (100)

Table 7

Participants' length of stay in Hong Kong (N=177)

Length of Stay in Hong Kong	Less than one year	One to two years	Three or four years	Five or six years	Seven years or above	Total
Frequency (percent)	4 (2.3)	49 (28.2)	41 (23)	13 (6.9)	70 (39.7)	177 (100)

Table 8

No. of brothers and sisters of the participants (N=176)

No. of brothers and sisters	None	One	Two	Three	Four or above	Total
Frequency (percent)	8 (4.5)	73 (41.5)	50 (28.4)	28 (15.9)	17 (9.7)	176 (100)

Table 9

No. of family members of the participants living in Hong Kong (N=179)

No. of family members living in Hong Kong	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six or above	Total
Frequency (percent)	4 (2.2)	23 (12.8)	69 (38.5)	47 (26.3)	36 (20.1)	179 (100)

Table 10

The occupation of the father of the participants (N=177)

Father's occupation	Merchant	Sales	Worker	Driver	Others	Total
Frequency (percent)	10 (5.6)	9 (5.1)	92 (52.0)	14 (7.9)	52 (29.4)	177 (100)

Table 11

The occupation of the mother of the participants (N=177)

Mother's occupation	Merchant	Sales	Worker	Driver	Housewife	Others	Total
Frequency (Percent)	5 (2.8)	12 (6.8)	44 (24.8)	3 (1.7)	86 (48.6)	27 (15.3)	177 (100)

Table 12

Place of residence of the parents of the participants (N=177)

Parent's place of residence	Both parents in Hong Kong	Father in Hong Kong and mother in Mainland	Mother in Hong Kong and father in Mainland	Both parents in Mainland	Total
Frequency (Percent)	161 (91.0)	10 (5.6)	2 (1.1)	4 (2.3)	177 (100)

Based on the above information several points can be highlighted. First, regarding the distribution by gender, the difference is not great (Table 5). There are 97 males (55.1 percent) and 79 females (44.9 percent). More importantly, the information shows that 120 pupils were born in Mainland China while the number of pupils born in Hong Kong was 59 (Table 6).

To facilitate analysis the pupils can be divided into three groups (see Table 7). One group refers to those who have lived in Hong Kong for less than three years (N=53). Another group refers to those who have stayed for three years to less than seven years (N=54). Finally, there are the group of pupils who have lived in Hong Kong for seven years or more (N=70). However, there were two pupils who did not respond to the item length of stay in Hong Kong but were born in Hong Kong, they were included in the third category. This means that for the third group there are 72 pupils (N=72).

Regarding the number of brothers and sisters, around 41 percent of pupils have one brother or sister. But it is also interesting to note that 54 percent have two or more siblings. In particular, 25.6 percent have three or more. Hence from table 8 95.5 percent of the pupils in the whole sample have at least one brother or sister. As 107 (53 +54) or 59.8 per cent of the pupils in the sample are NAC, some of the parents of the NAC may have come to Hong Kong to escape the one child policy on the Mainland

In addition, the data also shows that most of the fathers of the pupils work as workers (N=92) or drivers (N=14). The data also shows that a large percentage of the mothers are housewives (N=86).

Finally, the data also shows that over 91 percent of the pupils in the sample have both parents in Hong Kong while 5.6 percent of them have their mothers still living in China.

Application of the chi-square goodness-of-fit analysis

The chi-square goodness-of-fit analysis has been applied to test the following three hypothesis.

- (1)The age of the pupils in the sample is unrelated to their length of stay
- (2)The number of brothers and sisters of the pupils in the sample is unrelated to their length of stay
- (3)The number of family members of the pupils living in Hong Kong in the sample is unrelated to their length of stay

The chi-square goodness-of-fit analysis has not been applied to make comparisons of the three groups based on sex. An important reason is that the difference in sex among the three groups is not a concern for this study. Moreover, the researcher has considered making comparisons based on the occupations of the parents. However, there are practical difficulties in classifying the occupations of parents for statistical analysis. In particular, the occupations are mainly manual or semi-skilled, thus making comparisons of little interest. Hence the comparison has not been attempted.

The results of the test are shown in the table 13, 14 and 15.

Table 13

Age of the pupils with reference to their length of stay (N=177)

		NAC with under 3 years residence N=53	NAC with 3 to 6 years residence N=54	HK children with 7 years residence or over N=70	Total	X ²	p
Age 11 or below	Number	1	4	28	33		
Age 12 or above	Number	52	50	42	144		
Total	Number	53	54	70	177	35.555	0.05

Table 14

Number of brothers and sisters of the pupils with reference to their length of stay

(N=174)

		NAC with under 3 years residence N=52	NAC with 3 to 6 years residence N=54	HK children with 7 years residence or over N=68	Total	X2	p
Has fewer than 3 brothers or sisters	Number	32	41	58	131		
Has 3 brothers or sisters or more	Number	20	13	10	43		
Total	Number	52	54	68	174	8.955	0.05

Table 15
Number of family members of pupils living in Hong Kong with reference to their
length of stay (N=177)

		NAC with under 3 years residence N=53	NAC with 3 to 6 years residence N=54	HK children with 7 years of residence or above N=70	Total	X2	p
Less than 5 family members living in Hong Kong	Number	25	33	37	95		
With 5 family members living in Hong Kong or more	Number	28	21	33	82		
Total	Number	53	54	70	177	2.122	NS

Table 13 shows that hypothesis (1) is rejected at the 0.05 level of confidence. As mentioned in the literature review, on average NAC are older than Hong Kong born children in the same class. Though hypothesis (2) is rejected at the 0.05 level of confidence, the result is marginal (Table 14). Nevertheless, according to the result, in this sample NAC tend to have more brothers and sisters than the Hong Kong born

children. This is of particular interest in view of the one child policy on the Mainland. It is suggested that some immigrants from the Mainland may move to Hong Kong in order to evade the one child policy. According to the result shown in table 15, hypothesis (3) is not rejected at the 0.05 level of confidence. Thus the number of family members living in Hong Kong in the sample is not related to their length of stay in Hong Kong.

Self perception of different groups of pupils in relation to home and school

Presentation of data for whole sample with mean and standard deviation

The frequency, mean and standard deviation of responses to questions one to nine completed by all pupils are listed in table 16 and those of questions ten to seventeen are listed in table 17. The data are presented in two separate tables for ease of reading.

Table 16

Frequency, mean and standard deviation of answers to questions about adjustment to Hong Kong (N=179)

Questions	Strongly Agree No. (percent)	Agree No. (percent)	Disagree No. (percent)	Strongly Disagree No. (percent)	Mean (Standard deviation)
1.I like living in Hong Kong	53 (29.6)	100 (55.9)	21 (11.7)	5 (2.8)	3.12 (.72)
2.I feel that Hong Kong is my home	56 (31.3)	102 (57.0)	19 (10.6)	2 (1.1)	3.18 (.66)
3.I am proud to be a citizen of China	41 (23.1)	98 (55.4)	30 (17)	8 (4.5)	2.97 (.76)
4.I am proud to be a resident of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	42 (23.6)	96 (53.9)	34 (19.1)	6 (3.4)	2.98 (.75)
5.I can understand the simplified version of Chinese character	49 (27.8)	68 (38.7)	40 (22.7)	19 (10.8)	2.84 (.96)
6.I can understand the traditional version of Chinese character	90 (51.1)	75 (42.6)	7 (4)	4 (2.3)	3.43 (.68)
7.I think English language is a difficult subject for me	48 (27.4)	73 (41.7)	43 (24.6)	11 (6.3)	2.90 (.88)
8.I like to participate in cultural activities in Hong Kong	16 (9.2)	86 (49.1)	63 (36)	10 (5.7)	2.62 (.73)
9.I think people in Hong Kong are friendly and helpful	27 (15.4)	82 (46.9)	56 (32)	10 (5.7)	2.72 (.79)

(1 – Strongly Disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Agree, 4 – Strongly Agree)

Table 17

Frequency, mean and standard deviation of responses to questions about school (N=179)

Questions	Strongly Agree No. (percent)	Agree No. (percent)	Disagree No. (percent)	Strongly Disagree No. (percent)	Mean of responses (Standard deviation)
10.I like going back to school	40 (22.7)	107 (61.8)	22 (12.5)	7 (4)	3.02 (.72)
11.I have no problem of communication with my classmates	57 (32.2)	83 (46.9)	20 (11.3)	17 (9.6)	3.02 (.91)
12.I have no problem of communication with my teachers	46 (26)	95 (53.6)	24 (13.6)	12 (6.8)	2.99 (.82)
13.I am willing to participate in extracurricular activities organized by the school	89 (50)	76 (42.7)	10 (5.6)	3 (1.7)	3.41 (.68)
14.I like to sit with a classmate who has just moved to Hong Kong recently	46 (26)	98 (55.4)	29 (16.4)	4 (2.2)	3.05 (.72)
15.I like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong	54 (30.5)	95 (53.6)	24 (13.6)	4 (2.3)	3.12 (.72)
16.I have many good classmates in Hong Kong	68 (38.2)	85 (47.8)	20 (11.2)	5 (2.8)	3.21 (.75)
17.I have rarely been bullied or teased by my classmates	54 (30.2)	83 (46.4)	28 (15.6)	13 (7.3)	3.00 (.87)

(1 – Strongly Disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Agree, 4 – Strongly Agree)

In tables 16 and 17, categories of response with a mean of 3 or above are of particular interest. They include question 1 – I like living in Hong Kong (3.12), question 2 – I feel that Hong Kong is my home (3.18), question 6 – I can understand the traditional

version of Chinese character (3.43), question 10 – I like going back to school (3.02), question 11 – I have no problem of communication with my classmates (3.02), question 13 – I am willing to participate in extracurricular activities organized by the school (3.41), question 15 – I like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong (3.12), question 16 – I have many good classmates in Hong Kong (3.21) and question 17 – I have rarely been bullied or teased by my classmates (3.00). Moreover, there are questions with means just below 3. They include question 3 (2.97), question 4 (2.98), and question 12 (2.99). Thus most of the pupils in the sample respond positively.

Secondly, it is noted that a very high proportion of the pupils agree or strongly agree (over 90 percent) that they can understand the traditional Chinese characters. In view of this, most of the NAC also claim to understand the traditional Chinese character which is not used in Mainland China. In addition, 92.7 percent of the pupils agreed or strongly agreed that they participated in extracurricular activities frequently. Thirdly, it is noted that over two thirds of students agreed (41.7 percent) or strongly agreed (27.4 percent) that English is a difficult subject. It seems that this is common to all three groups of pupils.

Finally, it is noted that nearly 38 percent of pupils disagreed (32 percent) or strongly disagreed (5.7 percent) that people in Hong Kong are friendly.

Comparison of the of the responses of the three groups of pupils to questions one to seventeen.

ANOVA has been applied to compare the responses of the three groups of pupils to questions one to seventeen. The mean, standard deviation and the F value are shown in tables 18 and 19. In addition, the Tukey pairwise comparison test is applied to questions with results which are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 18

ANOVA results of the mean responses of the three groups of pupils to questions one to nine

Questions	NAC with under 3 years residence(a)	NAC with 3 to 6 years residence (b)	HK children with 7 years residence or over(c)	F	P	Tukey's pairwise comparison
1.I like living in Hong Kong	2.85 (.72)	3.09 (.68)	3.34 (.68)	7.755	P<0.001	c>a
2.I feel that Hong Kong is my home	2.91 (.69)	3.07 (.54)	3.46 (.61)	13.218	P<0.001	c>a
3.I am proud to be a citizen of China	3.04 (.74)	3.11 (.64)	2.80 (.84)	2.927	NS	
4.I am proud to be a resident of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	2.94 (.74)	3.06 (.63)	2.91 (.84)	.582	NS	
5.I can understand the simplified version of Chinese character	3.35 (.56)	3.13 (.87)	2.20 (.92)	34.782	P<0.001	a> c b> c
6.I can understand the traditional version of Chinese character	3.43 (.54)	3.53 (.58)	3.34 (.84)	1.164	NS	
7.I think English language is a difficult subject for me	2.06 (.83)	1.94 (.85)	2.28 (.91)	2.329	NS	
8.I like to participate in cultural activities in Hong Kong	2.60 (.66)	2.60 (.66)	2.61 (.83)	.003	NS	
9.I think people in Hong Kong are friendly and helpful	2.71 (.75)	2.66 (.78)	2.74 (.82)	.137	NS	

1 = SD (Strongly Disagree) 2 = D (Disagree) 3 = A (Agree)

4 = SA(Strongly Agree)

Table 19

ANOVA results of the mean responses of the three groups of pupils to questions ten to seventeen

Questions	NAC with under 3 years residence(a)	NAC with 3 to 6 years residence(b)	HK children with 7 years residence or over(c)	F	P	Tukey's Pairwise comparison
10.I like going back to school	3.08 (.73)	3.13 (.73)	2.88 (.69)	2.080	NS	
11.I have no problem of communication with my classmates	2.92 (.90)	3.17 (.80)	2.94 (.98)	1.241	NS	
12.I have no problem of communication with my teachers	2.98 (.73)	2.96 (.82)	2.99 (.88)	.012	NS	
13.I am willing to participate in extracurricular activities organized by the school	3.40 (.57)	3.40 (.72)	3.43 (.73)	.047	NS	
14.I like to sit with a classmate who has just moved to Hong Kong recently	2.04 (.77)	1.89 (.58)	1.96 (.77)	.590	NS	
15.I like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong	2.85 (.69)	3.00 (.65)	3.41 (.69)	11.135	P<0.001	c>a
16.I have many good classmates in Hong Kong	2.96 (.77)	3.26 (.73)	3.34 (.72)	4.204	P<0.025	c>a
17.I have rarely been bullied or teased by my classmates	3.06 (.75)	3.04 (.82)	2.90 (.98)	.610	NS	

1 = SD(Strongly Disagree) 2 = D(Disagree) 3 = A(Agree)
4 = SA(Strongly Agree)

From tables 18 and 19 it is noticed that the results of twelve questions are not

significant at the level of 0.05. They are marked with NS (not significant) in the table. However, there are also five questions which are significant. They are question 1 (I like living in Hong Kong, $F = 7.755$), question 2 (I feel that Hong Kong is my home, $F = 13.218$), question 5 (I can understand the simplified version of Chinese character, $F = 34.782$), question 15 (I like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong, $F = 11.135$) and question 16 (I have many good classmates in Hong Kong, $F = 4.204$).

The Tukey pairwise comparison test has also been applied to test the mean differences between the three groups for the above five questions. For question 1 (I like living in Hong Kong) the mean difference between the group with under three years' residence (group a) and the group with seven years' residence or over (group c) is .49. The difference between these two groups is significant with NAC less positive about living in Hong Kong. Similarly, for question 2 (I feel that Hong Kong is my home) the mean difference between the group with under three years' residence (group a) and the group with seven years' residence or over (group c) is .55. The result shows that the difference between group a and group c is significant, again with NAC expressing less agreement that Hong Kong is their home.

For question 5 (I can understand the simplified version of Chinese character) the F-value is 34.782. The mean difference between the group with under 3 years' residence (group a) and the group with seven years' residence or over (group c) is 1.15. The mean difference between the group with four to six years' residence (group b) and the group with seven years' residence or over (group c) is .93. The results show that both the differences between group c and a and that between group b and c are significant with both groups of NAC having less difficulty than Hong Kong

children.

For question 15 (I like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong) the F-value is 11.135. The mean difference between the group with under three years' stay (group a) and the group with seven years' residence or over (group c) is .56. The result shows that the difference between group a and group c is significant with NAC expressing less agreement that they like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong. Finally, for question 16 (I have many good classmates in Hong Kong) the F-value is 4.204. The mean difference between the group with under three years' residence (group c) and the group with seven years' residence or over (group a) is .38. The result shows that the difference between group a and group c is significant up to the 0.025 level of significance with NAC expressing less agreement that they have many good classmates in Hong Kong.

In sum, the ANOVA test and the Tukey's pairwise comparison show that there is a significant difference between group a and group c regarding liking to live in Hong Kong, feeling that Hong Kong is their home and liking to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong. The results also show that there is a significant difference between group a and group c as well as group b and group c regarding understanding the simplified version of Chinese character. Finally, there is also a difference between group a and group c regarding the feeling of having many good classmates in Hong Kong.

Subscales derived from the questionnaire

The aim of the principal component analysis is to investigate the factorial structure

underlying the pupils' responses to the 17 questionnaire items. The results are shown in table 20.

Table 20

Factor structure underlying the pupils' responses to questions 1 – 17

Factor 1	<u>Hong Kong Identity</u>	Loading
	<u>Eigenvalue: 4.351</u>	
	<u>Per cent of total variance: 25.593</u>	
	<u>Items</u>	
	1. I like living in Hong Kong	.740
	2. I feel that Hong Kong is my home	.748
	4. I am proud to be a resident of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	.627
	8. I like to participate in cultural activities in Hong Kong	.423
Factor 2	<u>Communications with Classmates and Teachers</u>	
	<u>Eigenvalue: 1.988</u>	
	<u>Per cent of total variance: 11.695</u>	
	<u>Items</u>	
	11. I have no problem of communication with my classmates	.808
	12. I have no problem of communication with my teachers	.762
Factor 3	<u>Chinese Identity</u>	
	<u>Eigenvalue: 1.405</u>	
	<u>Per cent of total variance: 8.264</u>	
	<u>Items</u>	
	3. I am proud to be a citizen of China	.551
	5. I can understand the simplified version of Chinese character	.753
	6. I can understand the traditional version of Chinese character	.753

Factor 4 Mixing with Classmates

Eigenvalue: 1.247

Per cent of total variance: 7.338

Items

14.I like to sit with a classmate who has just moved to Hong Kong recently	.823
15.I like to sit with a classmate who was born In Hong Kong	.621

Factor 5 Adjustment to Life in the School

Eigenvalue: 1.052

Per cent of total variance: 6.188

Items

13.I like to participate in extracurricular activities organized by the school	.651
16.I have many good classmates in Hong Kong	.534
17.I was rarely been bullied or teased by my classmates	.641

Factor 6 Feelings about Hong Kong

Eigenvalue: 0.879

Per cent of total variance: 5.171

Items

7. I think English language is a difficult subject for me	.717
9. I think people in Hong Kong are friendly and helpful	.623
10.I like going back to school	.550

Items with a loading of .4 or greater on varimax rotation of a factor were selected for inclusion in the subscales. The rotated six-factor solution is the most interpretable.

Questions 1, 2, 4 and 8 are grouped under factor one, labelled Hong

Kong Identity. Questions 11 and 12 are grouped under factor two,

labelled Communications with Classmates and Teachers. Questions 3, 5 and

6 are grouped under factor three and labelled Chinese Identity.

Questions 14 and 15 are grouped under factor four, labelled Mixing with Classmates. Questions 13, 16 and 17 are grouped under factor five, labelled Adjustment to Life in School. Finally, questions 7, 9 and 10 are grouped under factor six, labelled Feelings about Hong Kong.

Comparison of the mean ratings for the three groups of pupils on the six factors

To further investigate the differences in responses of the three groups to each of these factors, the ANOVA test has been used. The results, including the F-value, are shown in table 21.



Table 21

ANOVA results of the responses of the three groups of pupils to the six

Factors (N=177)

Factor	NAC with under 3 years residence (N=53)	NAC with 3 to 6 years residence (N=54)	HK children with 7 years of residence or over (N=70)	F value	p
1.Hong Kong Identity	2.83 (0.15)	2.96 (0.24)	3.08 (0.39)	0.848	NS
2.Communications with Classmates & Teachers	2.95 (0.04)	3.07 (0.14)	2.96 (0.03)	0.993	NS
3.Chinese Identity	3.28 (0.21)	3.26 (0.23)	2.78 (0.57)	1.681	NS
4.Mixing with Classmates	2.44 (0.57)	2.44 (0.79)	2.68 (1.02)	0.057	NS
5.Adjustment to Life in the School	3.14 (0.23)	3.28 (0.18)	3.22 (0.28)	0.142	NS
6.Positive Feelings about Hong Kong	2.61 (0.52)	2.58 (0.60)	2.63 (0.32)	0.09	NS

The results show that for all the six factors, the differences between the three groups are not significant. However, for factor 3 (Chinese Identity), it can be seen that the differences between the means of group three(7 years residence or over) with those of group one(less than 3 years' residence) and group two (3 or 6 years residence) are larger than for other groups.

A probable reason for the general non-significance of differences is that each factor consists of two to four questionnaire items. Thus, the 'averaging effect' may generate the results in the table.

Categories of responses to items 18 -21

As explained in the Methodology Chapter, items 18 – 21 were open-ended questions. Each pupil was able to fill in more than one response. The answers of the pupils to these three questions were categorized. The frequency of the responses of the three groups was compared. The results are shown in table 22 to table 25.

Table 22 (N = 62)

The views of respondents on what they like about living in Hong Kong

	Places are clean	Have many beautiful places	prosperous	People are friendly	Good transport	Good night view	Many tall building	None
NAC with under 3 years residence (N=20)	5	8	2	1	1	2	0	1
NAC with 3 years to 6 years residence (N=27)	3	10	4	2	2	2	2	2
HK children with 7 years of residence or over (N=27)	1	13	4	1	2	1	1	4

*Each pupil could give more than one reply

Table 23 (N=64)

The views of respondents on what they don't like about living in Hong Kong

	Poor air quality	High rent	Narrow Living space	Things are expensive	Places are not clean	Discrimination against Mainlanders	None
NAC with under 3 years Residence (N=28)	9	2	8	0	2	3	4
NAC with 3 years to 6 years residence (N=36)	11	1	9	2	5	1	7
HK children with 7 years residence or over (N=32)	16	1	1	0	5	0	9

*Each pupil could give more than one reply

Table 24 (N=117)

Rights of the citizens of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

	Freedom	Freedom of speech	Freedom to vote	Freedom of religion	Freedom of privacy	No idea
NAC with under 3 years residence (N=39)	12	13	6	2	2	4
NAC with 3 to 6 years Residence (N=42)	15	10	8	3	2	4
HK children with 7 years residence or over (N=55)	13	17	11	7	2	5

*Each pupil could give more than one reply

Table 25 (N=115)

Responsibilities of the citizens of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region

	To protect the environment	To vote	To pay tax	To obey law	No idea
Under 3 years stay (N=50)	25	5	3	10	7
4 to 6 years stay (N=46)	17	9	6	10	4
7 years or over (N=41)	21	4	5	3	8

*Each pupil could give more than one reply

The responses of the pupils are quite diverse in nature. Regarding the aspects that they like about Hong Kong, no clear pattern is observed among the three groups. However, regarding the aspects that the pupils don't like about living in Hong Kong, interesting points can be highlighted. First, 36 pupils mentioned the poor air quality of Hong Kong. However, it appears that this is not a function of how long the pupils have stayed in Hong Kong.

Secondly, narrow living space is also one of the factors mentioned. But only one out of eighteen pupils who highlighted this factor has stayed in Hong Kong for seven years. It is likely that those who have lived in Hong Kong for a relative short time are still not accustomed to this aspect of life in the SAR.

Regarding the rights of the people of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, a high number (38 and 37 respectively) mentioned freedom and freedom of speech and the responses are fairly equally distributed among the three categories. The reason may be that even NACs have often heard that the enjoyment of various types of freedom is popular.

However, one point worth mentioning is that for freedom of religion, out of the 12 respondents who provided this response, 7 belong to the third category while only 2 have stayed in Hong Kong for less than three years; it may be the case that for pupils who have stayed in Hong Kong for over seven years, many have religious beliefs. As the government of China has tightened control on religion, those who have just arrived may be less aware of the freedom of religion.

Regarding the responsibility of the citizens of the HKSAR, a large number (63) of pupils mentioned the protection of environment and the group is fairly distributed among the three categories.

Of the 23 pupils who mentioned the responsibility for obeying the law, ten were in the first category, ten were in the second category and three were in the third category. A possible reason is that NAC are more aware of obeying the law as this is being emphasized in the Mainland.

Influences on Adjustment of NAC to Hong Kong

Mean rating and standard deviation for question items 22 to 31

Questions 22 to 31 were only answered by pupils who had stayed in Hong Kong for Less than seven years. The frequency, mean and standard deviation of responses to questions 22 to 31 are listed in table 26.

Table 26

The frequency, mean and standard deviation of responses to questions 22 to 31

Questions	Strongly Agree No. (percent)	Agree No. (percent)	Disagree No. (percent)	Strongly Disagree No. (percent)	Mean (standard deviation)
22.My parents discussed the family's move to Hong Kong with me before we departed to settle in the territory(HKSAR)	19 (18.4)	58 (56.3)	16 (15.5)	10 (9.7)	2.83 (.84)
23.I am very cheerful when I first arrived at the HKSAR	29 (27.9)	39 (37.5)	31 (29.8)	5 (4.8)	2.88 (.87)
24.I always have the idea of going back to China	34 (32.7)	36 (34.6)	32 (30.8)	2 (1.9)	2.98 (.85)
25.Since I have moved to Hong Kong, I have found it difficult to talk to discuss with my parents the life and the problems which I have encountered in school	17 (16.3)	39 (37.5)	35 (33.7)	13 (12.5)	2.58 (.91)
26.The neighbours of the place where I live are very friendly	22 (21.6)	59 (57.8)	18 (17.6)	3 (2.9)	2.98 (.72)
27.I have adapted to the life in Hong Kong	32 (31.1)	56 (54.4)	14 (13.6)	1 (1.0)	3.16 (.68)
28.I miss the old days when I was living in China	38 (36.5)	45 (43.3)	20 (19.2)	1 (1.0)	3.15 (.76)
29.I miss the friends and relatives in China	42 (40.4)	49 (47.1)	12 (11.5)	1 (1.0)	3.27 (.70)
30.I have many friends after I arrived in Hong Kong	41 (39.4)	56 (53.8)	6 (5.8)	1 (1.0)	3.32 (.63)
31.I like better the classmates in Hong Kong(compared with those in the Mainland)	18 (18.6)	44 (45.4)	29 (29.9)	6 (6.2)	2.76 (.83)

(1 – Strongly Disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Agree, 4 – Strongly Agree)

According to the results, over eighty percent of respondents reported that they agreed or strongly agreed that they had adapted to life in Hong Kong (Question 27).

Moreover, over ninety percent of the respondents also agreed or strongly agreed that they have had many friends after they arrived in Hong Kong (question 30). For questions 26 (the neighbours of the place where I live are very friendly) and 31 (I like better the classmates in Hong Kong), 79.4 percent and 64 percent of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed respectively. In other words, a high percentage of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the neighbours of the places where they lived were friendly and that they liked better their classmates in Hong Kong.

Thus the respondents to these four questions seem to suggest they have adapted well to the school and social environment in Hong Kong.

However, at the same time 67.3 percent of the respondents also mentioned that they had the idea of going back to China and 53.8 percent agreed or strongly agreed that they found it difficult to discuss with parents the problems encountered in Hong Kong (Questions 24 and 25).

Finally, almost 80 percent of the respondents also mentioned that they agreed or strongly agreed that they missed the old days in China (Question 28) and 87.5 percent mentioned that they agreed or strongly agreed that they missed their friends and relatives in China (Question 29).

Based on the responses of these four questions (24, 25, 28, 29), it appears that there is an inconsistency in response regarding their adaptation and adjustment to the environment in Hong Kong. This point will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.

The researcher did not make comparison between the two NAC groups on the responses to items 22 to 31. An important reason is that the concern of this section is on investigating the attitude of the NAC regarding aspects related to the adjustment to the life in Hong Kong, for instance, preparation to move to Hong Kong. The focus is not on the difference between the two groups of NAC.

Subscales derived from the questionnaire

The aim of the principal components analysis (with varimax rotation) in this section is to investigate the factor structure underlying the responses of pupils with less than 7 years' stay in Hong Kong to questions 22 to 31. Missing data were excluded on a pairwise basis. The results are presented in table 27.

Table 27

Factor structure underlying the pupils' responses to questions 22-31

Factor 1 Nostalgia Loading

Eigenvalue: 2.503

Per cent of total variance: 25.030

Items

24.I always have the idea of going back to China	.762
25.Since I have moved to Hong Kong, I have found it difficult to discuss with parents the life and the problems which I have encountered in school	.510
28.I miss the old days when I was living in China	.891
29.I miss the friends and relatives in China	.849

Factor 2 Adjustment to Hong Kong

Eigenvalue: 1.983

Per cent of total variance: 19.832

Items

23.I am very cheerful when I first arrived at the HKSAR	.562
27.I have adapted to the life in Hong Kong	.759
30.I have many friends since I arrived in Hong Kong	.787
31.I like better the classmates in Hong Kong(compared with those in the Mainland	.580

Factor 3 Readiness to settle in Hong Kong.

Eigenvalue: 1.286

Per cent of total variance: 12.865

Items

22.My parents discussed the family's move to Hong Kong with me before we departed to settle in the territory(HKSAR)	.870
26.The neighbours of the place where I live are very friendly	.518

The rotated three-factor solution is the most interpretable. The three factors were labeled Nostalgia(factor 1), Adjustment to Hong Kong(factor 2), Readiness to Settle in Hong Kong(factor 3). Items with a loading of .5 or greater on varimax rotation of a factor were selected for inclusion in the subscale.

Correlations of mean ratings on subscales of items 22-31 with subscale ratings of NAC on items 1 – 17.

In table 28 below, correlations of mean ratings on subscales of items 22-31 with subscale ratings of NAC on items 1 – 17 are presented. Data with an asterisk indicates that the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 28

Correlations of mean ratios on subscales of items 22-31 with subscale ratings of NAC on items 1-17

	HK identity	Communication With Class-mates & Teachers	Chinese Identity	Mixing with Class-Mates	Adjustment to Life in School	Feelings about Hong Kong	Readiness to Settle in HK	Nostalgia	Adjustment to HK
HK identity	1	.251*	.130	.184	.55*	.275*	.423*	.127	.605*
Communication with Classmates & Teachers		1	.204*	.111	.286*	.146	-.019	.208*	.360*
Chinese Identity			1	-.115	.282*	-.014	.087	-.269*	.192
Mixing with Classmates				1	.127	.165	.049	.122	.186
Adjustment to Life in School					1	.369*	.167	.227*	.692*
Feelings about Hong Kong						1	.299*	.247*	.431*
Readiness to Settle in HK							1	-.001	.235*
Nostalgia								1	.255*
Adjustment to HK									1

It is interesting to note that the factor Hong Kong Identity has strong correlation with the factor Readiness to Settle in Hong Kong(.423) and Adjustment to Hong Kong(.605) and Adjustment to Life in School(.55). The strong associations seem to be logical judging from the elements of these four factors. The relatively high association between Communication with Classmates and Adjustment to Hong Kong also seems predictable.

The factor Adjustment to Life in School has a strong correlation with the factor Feelings about Hong Kong(.369) and Adjustment to Hong Kong(.692). A suggested reason for the strong correlation coefficient of .692 is that the factor Adjustment to Life in School is an essential element of Adjustment to Life in Hong Kong. Further, there is also strong association between the factor Feelings about Hong Kong and Adjustment to Hong Kong(.431).

It is also interesting to note that the factor Mixing with Classmates shows no strong correlation with any other factors. Finally, the factor Chinese Identity shows negative correlation with the factor Nostalgia(-.269).

Perceptions of NAC regarding the agencies which best help them to adapt to the life in Hong Kong

Table 29 shows the agencies which were reported to best help the respondents to adapt to life in Hong Kong. According to the results, both the group of pupils who stayed for less than three years and those who stayed from three to six years viewed school as the agency which best helped them to adapt to the life in Hong Kong. The

frequency is 37 and 40 respectively. A smaller number of pupils answered that family and voluntary organizations were the agencies which helped them to adapt. It is interesting to see that very few pupils gave government departments as the answer.

Table 29

Agencies which best help the NAC to adapt to the life in Hong Kong(N=83)

	Family	School	Voluntary organizations	Government departments	Others
Pupils who stayed for less than 3 years	5	37	9	3	1
Pupils who stayed from 3 to 6 years	13	40	8	0	0

Discussion and summary

In general, based on the data of the background of the pupils, an outstanding feature is that the average age of the NAC is slightly older than the local pupils.

According to the results of the questionnaire, the whole sample of pupils can be divided into three groups (group a – NAC under three years of residence in Hong Kong, group b – NAC with 3 to 6 years of residence in Hong Kong and group c – local children with 7 years of residence or over) and this facilitates the analysis.

Most of the pupils responded positively to question one to question seventeen. In

particular, a very high proportion of pupils agreed or strongly agreed that they could understand the traditional version of Chinese character and that they were willing to participate in extracurricular activities organized by the school.

Comparison of the three groups of pupils shows the feeling that liking to live in Hong Kong and that Hong Kong is my home is much stronger for local children than for NAC with under three years' residence. This indicates adjustment problems encountered by NAC. The researcher views this as predictable, as it takes time for NAC who have just arrived to adjust.

Furthermore, it is important to note that local children have a stronger sense of liking to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong than the NAC with less than three years' residence. This is also predictable and the problem of interaction is implied. Finally, it is also interesting to notice that both groups of NAC agreed more strongly than the local children that they could understand the simplified version of Chinese character. This is also predictable as in Hong Kong the simplified of Chinese character is not used.

Regarding the responses to questions 18 – 21, it seems that a great number of pupils felt that poor air quality of Hong Kong and narrow living space were the factors that they did not like about Hong Kong. In particular, the option of narrow living space was chosen by 15 NAC(out of 16 who highlighted this item). This is suggested as one problem of adjustment encountered by them.

Based on the results in table 25, most NAC agreed or strongly agreed that they had adjusted to the life in Hong Kong and that they had many friends in Hong Kong.

However, a high percentage of NAC also felt that they missed the old days in China and their friends and relatives there. It seems that there is a contradiction. But this contradiction is only apparent as adjustment to life in Hong Kong doesn't mean that there is no feeling of nostalgia.

The data from questionnaire items 1 – 17 generated a six factor model. On the whole, the model is logical and makes sense intuitively. However, the three factors from questionnaire items 22 – 31 produced a more meaningful model. It shows that the adjustment can be grouped under three main areas, namely, nostalgia, adjustment to Hong Kong and readiness to settle in Hong Kong. The ten questionnaire items were filled in by NAC only (group a and group b pupils). As the respondents to the questions were more homogeneous a clear pattern can be shown.

The correlation matrix in table 27 also shows that there is a rough consistency among various measures of adjustment to life in Hong Kong.

Finally, according to the results, the NAC perceived school as the agency which best helps them to adapt to the life in Hong Kong. This is also normal and predictable as an explicit aim of the sample school is to help NAC to adjust.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL STAFF AND TEACHER TRAINERS

Introduction

In this chapter the results of the qualitative findings will be presented. This chapter is basically divided into four sections which match the four research questions.

Moreover, a section on the results of the interviews with the teacher-trainers is also discussed. Finally, as in chapter four, the chapter concludes with a section on discussion and summary of the results.

Before the discussion of the actual results of the interviews, it is important to emphasize again the reason for focusing on civic education. As mentioned in the chapter on literature review, civic education has been promoted by the Hong Kong government since the early 1980s. However, no study has been made regarding the promotion of civic education in primary schools with a high number of NAC from Mainland China.

The researcher considers that civic education is important to the adjustment of NAC to the life in Hong Kong. An important concern of civic education is to help the school child to be a good citizen in future. Accordingly civic education in the sample schools should help the NAC to be a good citizen in the HKSAR. Without adaptation to the life in Hong Kong it is difficult to image how this aim can be achieved. In sum, it is considered that civic education has an important role to play in relation to the adjustment of this group of school children. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in a later section in this chapter, the aims of civic education in the sample

schools seem largely to be assimilationist and it is argued that this represents a missed opportunity.

Interviews with school staff

Interaction between the NAC and the local children

Reasons for the problem of interaction

Based on the responses of informants, it seems that there are problems of interaction between the NAC and the local children.

As highlighted by the principal of school C,

The local children tend to look down upon the NAC. They have a sense of superiority. But I think this is not the right attitude as most people in Hong Kong are immigrants.

As also put by teacher A of school B,

The experience and perceptions of the two groups are quite different. The NAC think that the local students are naïve. The local pupils think that they (NAC) are very mature. There is not good communication between them.

This feeling is also shared by her colleague teacher C who pointed out that NAC would like to mix together with NAC. This fact is also echoed by other teachers of

the same school. More importantly, teachers D and E suggested that the age gap between the two groups is a reason for the problem of interaction. In these schools, there were cases when NAC aged 17 had to enroll in primary six. However in Hong Kong the average age of primary six pupils is just 12. This fact has been mentioned by other researchers in Hong Kong (Leung & Ho, 1998, p.138). The quantitative results in chapter four of the study provide further confirmation.

In addition, teacher C of the school suggested that relationships between NAC and local children depend on the age of the NAC. As mentioned by her,

In the junior class this is not a problem. However in the senior class the problem is more serious as there is a gap between NAC and the local children. If they enter at primary six they just can't adapt

Thus teachers of school B shared the feeling that there is a problem of interaction between the two groups. The essence is that the cultural background of the NAC is different from that of the local children. This compounds problems arising from the fact that many NAC are older and are more mature than local children in the same class. These two factors combine to generate problems of interaction between the two groups.

It is also important to point out how the schools tackle the problem of relationships between NAC and local children. Explicit examples can be mentioned here. During the interviews, the principal of school B said he encouraged pupils to communicate in Mandarin. One possible reason is that speaking a common language may facilitate the communication and interaction between the NAC and the local children. In Hong Kong school children have Mandarin lessons starting in

primary one. But it is likely that for local school children they can only speak simple Mandarin and they may not communicate fluently with the NAC. Nevertheless, it is considered that speaking Mandarin is a way for the NAC to help local children. In other words it could enable them to make a contribution in the school.

Furthermore, the principals of both school B and school C also emphasized that they reminded both their teachers and the local school children to avoid labeling the NAC. They hoped this would also help to promote the interaction between the two groups of pupils.

Relevance of the percentage of NAC in the schools

However, the seriousness of the problem may also depend on the percentage of NAC in the schools. More precisely, a school with a high percentage of NAC may experience fewer problems of negative interaction. In contrast schools with a relatively low percentage of NAC may experience greater problems. The reason is that where the NAC becomes a majority, they may be less likely be targeted by the Hong Kong children. This view is supported by evidence from school B where NAC only account for 25 to 30 percent of the whole school population and teachers reported significant problems of interaction.

In contrast, in school A with a relatively high percentage of NAC, the problem of interaction between the two groups is less serious. The principal suggested that there was no great problem of interaction as the Hong Kong children were the minority.

Teacher A in the same school also expressed the same feeling:

In my class there are 34 pupils and of them only 3 are local pupils. I think there is no great problem of interaction between the two groups.

Some of the elements of the cross-cultural model can be applied in this context (Cusher, McClelland & Safford, p.103 - 108). First, poor communication between the NAC and the local children as highlighted by teacher A of school B may suggest the presence of the element of belonging/rejection. Thus, when NAC is in a minority they tend to feel rejected by the local children and they are regarded as 'outsiders'. This may result from the ingroup/outgroup categories established by either NAC or local children. Hence, NAC feel more comfortable when they are with other NAC (ingroups).

In addition, based on the above analysis, negative attributions of each other by both groups in the school is likely to be a problem. Attribution is the application of judgement by pupils about others based on the behaviour they observe and its meaning in their own social milieu. Local children attribute characteristics of maturity to NAC (possibly because they tend to be older), while NAC attribute the characteristics of naivety to local children.

Adjustment to life in Hong Kong

Aspects of adjustment

Informants mentioned their concern about the adjustment of NAC during the

interviews. They highlighted two aspects, habits and language of the NAC, more explicitly. Of them, personal habits were an issue which was heavily emphasized. The point is illustrated by the principal of school C. According to her,

There are some cases of theft. The point is that the habit of NAC is very different. In some cases they do not intend to steal but they forget. One also has to teach them knowledge about traffic. In some cases their parents are even not clear about the rule of traffic and road safety in Hong Kong and so we have to teach them.

The issue of personal habits was also pointed out by the vice principal of school A. For instance, he mentioned the lack of tidiness of the NAC. Teacher A of his school also referred to the fact that NAC tended not to line up. Teacher E of school B also stressed that the habits of NAC were different. They were not clean and he attributed this to the fact that many of them came from villages.

It is reasonable to regard personal habits as one aspect of socialization. As explained by Cushner, McClelland & Safford (2000, p.77), 'the use of the word habit in this context is important, for it points to another aspect of socialization, which is that the learner should internalize socially approved patterns of behaviour'. In the context of this study the NAC were said to have problems of adjustment as they had acquired habits different from those of Hong Kong before they moved to the territory. However, it is also appropriate to say that the informants stressed the importance of changing the habits of NAC as they themselves had been socialized in a different way from that of the NAC.

Language is another aspect which was highlighted by many informants. In particular,

the learning of English was a great problem. Teacher E of school B explained,

The NAC tend not to be able to catch up with their academic work and this affects their confidence. For instance, they have to start from the basic and just learn the letters A to Z.

Her colleague, teacher B also mentioned that English was a problem for the NAC.

This phenomenon was not confined to her school. It was also shared by teacher C of school A. As she explained:

On the whole, their English is poor. However, there is the remedial class and tutorial class to help them.

In addition to the problem of learning English, the NAC also have the difficulty of learning the complicated version of Chinese characters. Both teacher E of school B and the principal of school C highlighted this point.

Furthermore, according to the vice principal of school A, many NAC do not know Cantonese when they first arrive. They rely on classmates of similar background to translate for them. In this way, they are less likely to be laughed at by others. This fact is also documented in literature. According to Yuen (2003, p.32), a considerable number of NAC who have just arrived in Hong Kong do not understand Cantonese. For some others, their special accent of Cantonese is laughed at by local children.

For school staff who have more frequent and direct contact with the NAC other aspects related to adjustment such as life style were important. The counselling teacher of school A suggested different reasons for problems of adaptation of NAC.

In one case:

He felt that he had more freedom before he moved to Hong Kong.
Before he arrived he could hunt and not necessarily go to school.
He had the idea of going back.

However the home environment in Hong Kong can also be relevant. The same counselling teacher of school A commented that:

They are usually from the lower class and they only live within one room. As a result they are not happy. So when they go back to school they are happy. The point is that the family environment is too small.

Hence, habits, language and life style are reported as important aspects regarding the adjustment to life in Hong Kong.

Stages of adjustment

Stages of adjustment to life in Hong Kong were also mentioned by the informants.

As put by the principal of school C,

In many cases they feel cheerful when they first arrive. When they first come they have many things to eat. However, after a certain period they just can't adjust.

This fact is in line with other evidence that when immigrants first arrive, they will experience a stage of elation and optimism (Cushner, McClelland & Safford, 2000, p.96 -97). However, after a certain time, most NAC experience the stage of

depression, confusion and frustration. It is interesting to note that NAC have developed a way to facilitate adjustment to life in Hong Kong. Both teacher C of school A and the principal of school C mentioned this.

As expressed by the principal of school C,

In many cases they (NAC) just go back to village when they have vacation. They feel relaxed when they go back. In Hong Kong they feel more restrained.

In contrast, teacher C of school A implied that after a time in Hong Kong, the Mainland lost its attraction.

When they first come to Hong Kong, they will return to the Mainland when they have holiday. But after a certain period of time they just do not have this idea.

Going back to China when they have vacation is a way to relieve the pain of adjustment. However, as they begin to adjust this becomes unnecessary.

Factors governing adjustment

In addition, it appears that the degree of difficulty of adjustment varies among different groups of NAC. On the whole those NAC who come from the rural areas in the Mainland experience more problems of adjustment than those who come from the cities. This is not surprising. The lifestyle in the rural areas is different from that of the city. In particular, Hong Kong is a modern and a highly urbanized city. It is natural that those who are from cities in the Mainland tend to encounter a less

serious problem in adjustment. The principal of school C emphasized this point:

Those NAC from villages have more problems. They have more freedom in China before they come to Hong Kong and it is difficult for them to adjust.

The view is also echoed by the counseling teacher of school A. As put by her,

Some are more well prepared to move to Hong Kong. It applies to those who live in cities in China and those who study in reputed schools. They are more well-equipped.

It is also understandable that it takes time for the NAC to adjust. Thus the longer they stay in Hong Kong, the better they adapt.

The counseling teacher of school A also raised the important issue of the relevance of family in governing whether the NAC can successfully adapt. As mentioned by her,

Typical case is that the mother is young. They marry people in Hong Kong as they want a better life. However, once they recognize the situation is not so good they leave the family and leave the child unattended. In some cases, the child is the first to arrive in Hong Kong and the mother still has not arrived.

In brief, lack of support from the family of the NAC was said to hinder their adjustment to life in Hong Kong.

Adjustment within and outside the school

The counselling teacher of school A also argued that within the school, the problem of adaptation was not great for NAC. Teacher E of school B also raised a similar point. According to her, NAC found it difficult to make friends outside the school. Thus it seemed that it was easier for them to adjust to the life in the school. However, according to both teachers outside the school more problems of adjustment were encountered. This is not surprising as various parties in the school, such as the teacher and the principal have made a great effort to help the NAC to adjust. These policies will be discussed more systematically in a later section. This fact also matches the finding in the last section in chapter four. According to the evidence, school is the agent which best helps the NAC to adjust to life in Hong Kong.

The concept of culture shock is relevant in this context. As suggested by Grossman (1995, p.20), 'When people have to adjust to a culture that is significantly different from their own, they often become confused, anxious and frustrated because they don't know what is expected of them in different situations.' The NAC experience culture shock after they have moved to Hong Kong. However, the culture shock within the school is less serious than that outside the school. This is not surprising as within the school a less hostile environment for the NAC is fostered and a form of inclusive education has been promoted by the teacher and the principals.

In addition, within the school there are also 'culture brokers'. In the context of U.S.A., culture brokers are bicultural individuals who are equally knowledgeable about and comfortable in both the non-European American students' culture and the culture of the school (Grossman, 1995, p.121). Typically they belong to the same ethnic groups as the non-European American students, but it is believed that European Americans who are very familiar with non-European American culture can serve as

culture brokers.

In the context of this research, NAC within the school who have stayed for a longer time may help the NAC who arrived more recently. Moreover, teachers who are very familiar with various aspects of NAC may also become culture brokers. The essence is that the presence of culture brokers within schools facilitates the adjustment of NAC to life within the school.

To summarize, the NAC in this sample were reported by teachers to have experienced difficulties during their adjustment to life in Hong Kong. These difficulties were related to aspects of language, habits and styles of life. Consistent with theories in Western literature, many NAC feel cheerful when they first arrived in Hong Kong. However, after that many began to express pains of adjustment. The relevance of family in affecting their adjustment has been discussed. It is important to emphasize that time and original place of residence of the NAC are important variables governing their adjustment. In brief, the longer they have stayed in Hong Kong, the better they will adapt. Moreover, NAC from cities in the Mainland will adjust more smoothly than those from villages.

In sum, it is considered that the framework suggested by Grossman (1995) can be partially applied to the present discussion. First, the presence of culture shock and the role of cultural brokers as depicted by Grossman have been pointed out. Second, language as an important barrier to communication has been highlighted by the informants in this research and is also an important element in Grossman's framework.

In addition, Grossman also points out that impoverished living conditions are experienced by most immigrants when they first arrive in U.S. Based on the response of the informants this situation also applies to Hong Kong. According to the results in chapter four, a considerable number of NAC answered that crowded living conditions were one thing which they didn't like about Hong Kong.

Aims of civic education of the schools

According to the vice principal of school A, an important aim of civic education is to help the children to understand the Hong Kong community. This is particularly important for the NAC. Policies have been adopted to achieve this aim and this will be discussed in the next section. The vice principal considers that this is important as the differences between the social and cultural environment between Hong Kong and Mainland China is quite great. Thus helping the NAC to understand the local community also means that it is easier to adjust and integrate into the community.

The vice principal of this school also mentioned that an important aim of civic education is to change the habits of the NAC. A good example is that when some NAC just arrive, the teachers of the school have to teach them to use a flush toilet. The reason is that many NAC come from villages from China and they are not accustomed to using a flush toilet. Based on his response, it seems that underlying the aims of understanding the community and changing the habits of NAC, socialization of the NAC is the main concern. This point was also mentioned in the last section.

The principal of school C set out her aims for civic education:

The aim of civic education is to encourage the pupils to develop good moral values, to be intellectual, sociable, physically healthy and aesthetic. So the aim of civic education is to develop a 'comprehensive education'. Moreover, the aim is to nurture people and to promote good life habits.

These aims are rather general but the promoting of 'good life habits' was highlighted.

The principal also described the policies to promote civic education and these policies will be discussed in a later section.

The principal of school B also provided a list of the aims of civic education in his school:

The aim is to respect and loves one's brothers and sisters as well as classmates. It is also important to develop a sense of belonging to the school. In addition, it is essential to communicate well with peers and adults. In the level of the community it is important to know one's community and to show a concern for the society. We also aim to encourage the children to understand and know the mother country and the world.

The responses of this school principal seem to be more systematic and concrete.

From his responses a concentric pattern is revealed. Hence the promotion of civic education starts from the self and extends outwards to the school, the local community, the Hong Kong society and the world. It is interesting to note that the response of the principal of the school substantially matches one of the aims of school civic education as mentioned in the Civic Education Guidelines (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996; p.5).

Comparing the responses of the three informants, differences in the aims of civic education can be noticed. For school A, due to the high NAC pupil population, strong emphasis was put on the adjustment to the Hong Kong community. For school B, the aims mentioned by the principal roughly matched one of the aims mentioned in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, namely, to understand how the individual relates to the family, the neighbouring community, the national community and the world(p.5). For school C, the aim described by the principal is rather general. Though only three schools are investigated, diversity in the aims of civic education is apparent.

School policies to promote civic education

According to the responses of the principals, all three schools in the sample placed emphasis on promoting civic education through the formal curriculum. Thus the principal of school C pointed out that the subject General Studies was very important. The reason was that the content of the subject is relevant to civic education as it helps the pupils to understand the basic aspects of the political and economic system in Hong Kong. Moreover, according to her, in primary five and primary six levels the curriculum also introduces the pupils to the physical features and history of China.

It is also interesting to examine the attitude of the vice principal of school A and of the principal of school C towards the role of curriculum and subjects. The former argued that both General Studies and Chinese Language had roles to play. The content of the subject was relevant as it helped the pupils to understand basic aspects of the political and economic system in Hong Kong. In primary five and six levels

the subject also introduced pupils to the physical features and history of China.

Moreover, the subject Chinese Language also helped the pupils to understand Chinese culture. However, though the principal of school C emphasized the role of General Studies, she thought that all subjects had a role to play.

For school B the subject civic education was actually part of the formal curriculum of the school and one lesson per week was allocated to the subject. As mentioned in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, unlike the case in secondary schools, the Hong Kong Education Department has not formally devised a curriculum framework for the subject civic education in primary schools. Thus in schools the content of the subject has to be discussed and decided by the teachers themselves. According to the principal, during the civic education lesson, most of the time is devoted to the discussion of current affairs in Hong Kong.

The principals of the three schools also emphasized the importance of the informal curriculum in promoting civic education. As mentioned in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, schools may promote civic education through the informal curriculum and the form teacher period is one of the means (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996, p.44). The vice principal of school A pointed out that in his school the form teacher period played an important role. For instance, during the form teacher period the teacher could discuss with the pupils the social environment in Hong Kong.

In addition, according to him, the school also paid great attention to extracurricular activities which helped the pupils to understand the Hong Kong community. These activities included visits to the City Hall and the Legislative Council, etc. In addition, speakers were also invited to give talks which helped the pupils to be more

informed of various aspects of the community. For example, public relation officers from the Police Department were frequent visitors to the school. Groups such as the environment conservation club had also been formed in the school to encourage pupils to show concern for the community.

The principal of school C also encouraged pupils to understand their community and arranging visits was an important means to achieve this. To avoid disturbing the normal class schedule, the visits were frequently arranged during long vacation, for instance, the summer vacation. For school B, based on the response of the principal, it seems that the school paid more attention to serving and showing concern for the neighbouring community. The school is situated in an old public estate in Kowloon. Hence the school encouraged the pupils to participate strongly in campaigns to clean the estate.

Apart from extra-curricular activities, schools in the sample did not ignore other elements of the informal curriculum. More specifically, concrete and systematic programmes were designed. This particularly applied to school B and school C.

According to the principal of school B, a Parent Teacher Association had been formally established to facilitate communication between the school and the parents. The establishment of the association was important in that it facilitated the understanding of the school policies by the parents. He hoped that the association would help to enhance the support of parents when policies of the school are implemented. Of course this included policies to promote civic education.

The school had also formally introduced the Student Counsellor Scheme. In this

scheme, a social worker was in the school for three days a week to help the pupils to solve their problems. In view of the fact that the school had a high number of NAC, much of the school social worker's time was spent on helping the NAC to adjust to the school and social environment in Hong Kong. The one-help-one scheme was another policy developed in school B to achieve the aim of civic education. In this scheme, senior class pupils are encouraged to help the NAC who have just arrived in Hong Kong.

In school C, the 'one-help-one' policy had also been adopted. However, in this school the purpose of the 'one-help-one' policy was to solicit the involvement of academically outstanding pupils to help those who had difficulty in catching up.

The one-help-one policy as adopted by both schools B and C has been widely documented in peer tutoring literature. Topping (1996, p.322) defined peer tutoring as 'more able students helping less able students to learn in co-operative working pairs or small groups carefully organized by a professional teacher'. However, Topping pointed out that there are other varieties of peer tutoring and thus providing a definition will become more difficult.

Topping also identified many advantages of peer tutoring. These include more active, interactive and participative learning, immediate feedback, swift prompting and lowered anxiety with corresponding high self-disclosure. Furthermore, from a social psychology viewpoint, social isolation may be reduced.

The advantages as described by Topping seem applicable to school C. In addition to pedagogical advantages, close interaction between the pupils should help to reduce

the social isolation of NAC and promote interaction between the pupils. Improved learning resulting from peer tutoring could also help to raise the confidence of NAC in the school.

In addition, the school also paid great attention to whole school activities. As expressed by the principal,

We also arrange activities for the whole school. For example, we'll select courteous pupil and let all teachers judge and comment.

Moreover, it is an explicit policy to focus on a theme each year. Many school activities will be based on the theme. As also mentioned by the principal,

We have a focus every year. Just before 1997 the focus was on the Basic Law and we arranged activities so that pupils will understand the Basic Law. In this year the theme is about drugs and we tell the pupils to avoid drugs.

It is important to highlight a policy which was adopted by both school B and school C. The principals of both schools emphasized that they would try to avoid labeling the NAC. Although there was no formal policy of inclusion in these schools, principals and teachers seemed to make an effort to bring NAC into the life and work of the school.

It is interesting to note the differences between school B and school C regarding communication among the pupils. The principal of school B encouraged pupils to communicate in Mandarin. However, the principal of school C just discouraged

NAC from speaking in Fujui, a local Chinese dialect which is spoken by most NAC in the school. It appears that the principle of assimilation is adopted to a certain extent by the principal.

From evidence on the policies for implementing civic education provided by the informants, it is apparent that assimilation is a prominent feature in the three schools. For instance, visits and talks are channels through which school children and in particular, NAC, have the opportunity to understand the culture and environment in Hong Kong. As suggested in chapter two, assimilation is the process by which students of all racial and ethnic background are taught the language, values and norms of the dominant group (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997). This fact has been stressed by the informants during the course of the interviews.

More importantly, as highlighted above, there are also policies to promote interaction between the NAC and the local pupils as well as enhancing a climate of tolerance within the school. Hence, the one-help-one policy and the avoiding of negative labeling of NAC are good examples.

Furthermore, the whole school activity approach as adopted by school C is special in that an attempt is made to create a harmonious climate within the school. This helps pupils to learn to be more polite to each other.

Problems encountered when civic education is promoted in the schools

Predominant concern with assimilation

As suggested by many researchers and by the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, tolerance and appreciation of diversity is an essential element and objective of civic education. But it is very doubtful if the predominant concern with assimilation and socialization to the culture of Hong Kong will help to achieve the objective of tolerance and appreciation of diversity. It may be true that some NAC have not been socialized into Hong Kong norms on some matters, including personal hygiene. However, more could be done to encourage local children to accept the NAC. More specifically, local children in the schools should not only be encouraged to accept the NAC, they should show a more detailed understanding and appreciation of the background and culture of the NAC. However the interview data suggest that this has not been encouraged and initiated by the principals and the teachers. The dominant model is that of assimilation.

In the section on adjustment, it was reported that language, habit and style of life were highlighted by the informants. In particular, informants stressed the importance of helping the NAC to learn English and Cantonese. Moreover, they also emphasized changing the habits of the NAC. Thus, this implies the principals and teachers were making a great effort to encourage the NAC to accept the culture of Hong Kong.

It is appropriate that NAC are expected to change some habits which are undesirable, for example, aspects of hygiene. But though adjustment to the life in Hong Kong is important as these NAC have to settle down in the territory, a lack of respect for their

culture and background is not consistent with the spirit of civic education and multicultural education.

Learning to tolerate other people does not only mean good social interaction with them but also showing respect for their background and other cultural aspects. This is emphasized in multicultural education literature (Grant, 1995, p.5). From the interviews it is difficult to see how this attitude was encouraged by the informants. Practically no hint was provided by them on any positive aspects of the new immigrants from Mainland to Hong Kong. As will be discussed in the following section, the informants were not satisfied with the home background of the NAC and this is related to the culture of these new immigrants.

Family factors

Literature on multicultural education has documented the relevance of family involvement in the education of the immigrant children. Hernandez (2001, p.75 - 82) has pointed out the importance of parent involvement and parent/teacher communication (p.75 – 82). By the former she refers to activities by parents, both in the home and school, that are intended to support and promote students' school performance and well-being. Findings from the interviews seem to depict a negative picture, showing how family factors might hinder the promotion of civic education in the sample schools. In addition, the picture was similar in the three schools.

Concrete and specific examples were mentioned by the informants. The vice principal of school A explicitly pointed out that in many cases what was taught at school was different from what was taught at home. Teacher C at this school also

suggested that the impoliteness and untidiness of the NAC was linked to their bad habits at home.

Teacher B of school B also raised the point that many NAC used bad language at home. Moreover, the principal of school C said that the parents of many NAC in her school had to be taught to obey traffic lights by their children. However, the statement by teacher B of school B should be interpreted with caution as it is unlikely that she had directly heard NAC at her school speak bad language at their home.

The informants also highlighted the poor attitude of the parents of the NAC. As mentioned by the principal of school C,

One problem is that the parents of NAC tend to give the responsibility of rearing the child to the school. There is the problem of communicating with the parents and sometimes we can only contact the parents after 11:30 p.m.

Teacher B of school B also pointed out that the parents tend to pass the responsibility to the school. Teacher E of the same school mentioned that family support was not adequate and the attendance rate of parents at meetings was low.

The low socioeconomic status of the pupils is apparent after examining the responses of the informants, in particular, those at school A and B. As explained by the social worker of school B,

I think the problem of the NAC has a lot to do with their families. The income of the parents are not high. Usually they lack care and love from their families and so they have deviant behaviour.

Their parents just can't devote time to them as both of them have to work.

Both the counseling teacher and teacher C of school A also highlighted the low socioeconomic status of the families of NAC in their school. Teacher C said:

It is true that the problem mostly comes from the family. The point is that parents have to work and their knowledge level is low.

Another issue has to do with the family structure of the NAC. According to the counseling teacher of school A,

The typical case is that the father is quite old and the mother is young and the age and generation gap between them is great. The father is usually old and he just doesn't know how to teach their children. It is typical for the father to beat the child.

She also observed:

Typical cases are that the mothers are young. They marry their husbands in Hong Kong as they want a better life. However once they recognize the situation is not so good they leave the family and leave the child unattended. In some situations the child is the first to arrive in Hong Kong and the mother has still not come. Moreover, they always have to get welfare subsidies and payment from the government.

This counseling teacher had a deep understanding of the behavioural and other problems encountered by the pupils; she was in a good position to provide relevant

information on the background of families of the NAC. The essence is that the age gap between the father and the mother of the NAC and the resulting age gap between the father and child have undesirable consequences. The literature about NAC in Hong Kong supports the points mentioned by the counseling teacher.

After close examination, the information provided by the informants regarding the family background can be placed into two basic groups: class or socioeconomic status and family structure. The fact that most of the families of NAC belong to the working class has been explicitly pointed out above. In addition, in most cases the family structure of the NAC as described by the informants is such that the age gap between the father and the mother is great. In some cases, there is the presence of the 'quasi-single parent family' as the mother is still in the mainland while the father and the NAC live in Hong Kong.

These two aspects have implications for the implementation of civic education. Regarding the family structure, the age gap between the father and the mother may well hinder the development of a harmonious relationship within the family. This will not facilitate the school-family co-operation to educate the child. Moreover, the 'quasi-single parent family' implies the NAC is not well looked after at home.

The low socio-economic status of most of the NAC families poses a more complicated situation. First, the fact that the mother is also a new immigrant to Hong Kong implies that she is not in a good position to socialize her child in Hong Kong. The language she speaks and her own upbringing were sometimes in a different culture to that of Hong Kong. Second, when both parents have to work they can often not afford time to participate in school-family co-operation.

However, the argument should not be totally one-sided. Parents who bring their children to Hong Kong are eager that their children receive a better form of education in the territory. Hence though the objective condition such as the lack of time to participate in home-school co-operation creates a problem, the wish and the will of the parents to ensure that their children are well educated should not be underestimated. Thus despite the fact that some parents tend to pass the responsibility for educating the child completely to the school, the parents still care about the education of their children and co-operate with the school if they have the time and opportunity to do so.

In the interviews the informants depicted a negative picture of the family factors of the NAC, but their actual situation may not be that pessimistic. The worries of the teachers may have been exaggerated. Tizard and Hughes' (2002) study of four-year-old girls showed that the home provides a very powerful learning environment. The researchers suggested that from the limited sample that they observed, these girls were learning a great deal at home. The reference to Tizard and Hughes' research is important in that teachers in the sample schools may underestimate the educational and language stimulation in the homes of disadvantaged families.

In addition, one should not underestimate the scope of the school in overcoming problems. The task of the school is to educate pupils so that aims of education will be achieved. Of course, this includes the aims of civic education. Though family factors may pose obstacles, schools should be able to overcome them if good efforts have been made. Taking family factors into consideration when civic education is

planned is very important. If this is given priority, the implementation of the program should be more effective. In sum, the success of education policies depends on awareness and understanding of family background of the pupils.

The comment by Rutter (1991, p.8) is relevant in this context. According to him, good schooling can do something to counter stress and adversity in certain domains of children lives. He suggested that good schooling may provide positive experience of a kind that is pleasurable and rewarding and which helps children develop a sense of their own worth, together with the confidence that they can cope with life's challenges. One feature emphasized by him is that the beneficial effects of this aspect of schooling are mainly seen when children are under stress and when other sources of self-esteem and self-efficacy are lacking. It is this feature which is particularly relevant in the context of this research.

As mentioned in the literature review and as reported in the interviews in this chapter, the NAC lack self-esteem. However, positive school experiences should help them to build up their confidence and better achievements in their adult life. Hence it is likely that the informants overemphasized the negative influences of the family factors and underestimated what they and their colleagues could do to counteract these influences.

Differences between official school policy and actual 'delivery' of civic education

According to the Civic Education Guidelines for schools, schools may promote civic education through the formal and informal curriculum (Hong Kong Education Department, 1996). In this section, the responses of the informants regarding the

ways to implement civic education are examined. It is noticed that there are tensions in promoting civic education.

These tensions can be appropriately illustrated in the perceptions of teachers regarding the relevance and importance of different subjects in promoting civic education.

Teacher E of school B observed:

I think the subject General Studies is important for the promotion of civic education. Some topics are particularly relevant.

However, teacher A of the same school had a different view. She argued:

In fact, I think that General Studies is not that relevant. There is little mention of life skills. For example, understanding the planet is not very important. I also think that Chinese is also not very relevant.

Thus there were contradictory responses from the two teachers in the same school.

The subject General Studies embraces elements of science, history, human relationships and basic geography.

In addition, teacher C of school A suggested that individual subjects still had a role to play:

For Chinese, I will talk about attitudes. For instance, I will talk about Middle-Autumn festival. I will also have the chance to introduce the National Day and talk about when the Peoples'

Republic of China was established. I will also discuss with the pupils the issue of identity.

However, as noted above, teacher A of school B did not regard the subject Chinese as relevant. Again this is a case of contradictory views among the teachers.

Some teachers tended to take the view that most subjects could contribute. As suggested by teacher B of school B, who taught music, English and religious education,

I think I can teach civic education through music, for instance, the hymns. I can also teach civic education through the subject English. For instance, I can teach environment protection through relevant passages. Moreover, religion can also contribute. I can teach them the biblical passages and thus help them to understand the importance of self-discipline.

But teacher A of school A did not regard all subjects as relevant. He suggested,

I think the subject art is useful. The reason is that when we study art we look at an issue from different perspectives. For English we are only concerned with subject knowledge.

This is quite different from the view of teacher B of school B who took the view that every subject she taught could contribute to civic education. In addition, though both teachers taught English, their view of the contribution of the subject English to civic education was different.

Further evidence of the different perceptions of the role of curriculum subjects can be discerned. As further suggested by teacher A of school A,

For General Studies class of primary one, I will talk about the body. For mathematics class I will emphasize scenarios, for example, the purchase of fruit.

It seems that this teacher adopted a very broad interpretation of the role of each subject. The teacher is arguing that all subjects are potentially relevant to civic education. For instance, mathematics is directly relevant because the buying and selling of commercial products in Hong Kong may operate in a different setting from that in the Mainland.

From the above responses it is sufficient to demonstrate that teachers' views of the role of curriculum subjects in teaching civic education are very different and in some cases in strong contrast to each other. The essence is that their different perceptions would also be likely to have a different impact when they are teaching civic education to their pupils. For instance, a teacher who feels that the role of English is not important will only concentrate on the improvement of English standards when he or she is conducting the English lesson. However, an English teacher who thinks that the subject has a contribution to civic education will not solely concentrate on the language aspect when he or she is teaching the subject.

Regarding the promotion of civic education through the informal curriculum, replies were more consistent and coherent. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the principals of the schools were in a position to provide details of the aims and policies for promoting civic education. One reason for the consistency among the informants is that the policies regarding the promotion of civic education through the informal curriculum are more concrete and explicit in nature. For instance, both the vice

principal and the teachers of school A mentioned the importance of visits to places of interest and the invitation to guest speakers to give talks to the pupils. This issue has been discussed in the previous section where the role of the informal curriculum was analyzed.

Interviews with Teacher Trainers

Aims of Civic Education

According to teacher-trainer X, the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines is a very important document and the aims of promoting civic education have been clearly identified in the document. Compared with the 1985 guidelines, the framework for the 1996 Guidelines is much clearer. However, teacher trainer X also emphasized that the 1993 Aims of School Education in Hong Kong was also an important document. Regrettably, both documents have been ignored by most schools in Hong Kong.

Government policies to promote civic education

Although the government's policies to promote civic education have been explicitly stated in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, responses by the informants provided further information. As mentioned by teacher-trainer Y, schools themselves may decide the plan to promote civic education and it is not an independent subject as in secondary schools.

Though civic education is not an independent subject as in secondary schools, teacher-trainer X pointed out that officials in the Education Department hinted at the importance of the role of the subject General Studies. According to teacher-trainer X, this is not surprising as the subject General Studies comprises elements to help pupils to acquire knowledge, skills and to develop appropriate attitudes. However, she also noticed that after 1997 there had been a greater emphasis on teaching about China. For instance, the new primary one General Studies syllabus touches on elements of China like the mentioning of the national flags.

Both teacher-trainer X and Y highlighted that the resources for promoting civic education in Hong Kong are not adequate. Teacher Y mentioned that this was probably due to the fact that civic education is not a formal subject in the primary school curriculum. However, teacher-trainer X pointed out that some non-government organizations did help to provide some movies and other resources. For instance, there are materials on Video Compact Disc produced by the Independent Commission Against Corruption. In addition, schools may apply to the Quality Education Fund to produce resources for the promotion of civic education.

School policies to promote civic education

Teacher trainer Y highlighted that policies to promote civic education vary widely among schools. Many schools just adopt a permeation approach as advocated in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines. Thus each curriculum subject and the informal curriculum have roles to play in the promotion of civic education. However, he pointed out that the St. Kung Hui group of schools have a policy to allocate a period each week for the promotion of civic education.

His view was that in most schools the whole design of the plan to promote civic education is fragmented and not well organized. Teacher-trainer X shared the same view. In many cases schools are just not clear about how to plan civic education.

Teacher trainer X further argued that in primary schools, civic education was very similar to moral education and national guidelines were poorly developed.

Differences between official school policy and actual delivery of civic education

As pointed out previously, teachers are frontline education workers who are responsible for the practical teaching in the classroom. It is this fact which mainly gives rise to the differences between official school policy and the actual delivery of civic education.

Teacher trainer X has provided teacher-training courses in civic education to in-service teachers. Based on her interviews with teachers she found that the outcome was disappointing. According to her, the main difficulty was that teachers did not adopt what she had taught them. Without more time, what she taught just could not be applied. The reason was that the curriculum was too packed and they had no time in the lesson to put into practice what she had taught.

Teacher-trainer Y identified a more general issue. He stressed that the provision of civic education by teachers tended to be very flexible and varied. In particular, the experience and ability of the teachers were very important factors which limited their

effectiveness in promoting civic education. He pointed out that teachers lacked an adequate understanding of China and so they could not effectively promote national education which is an essential component of civic education.

Problems in promoting civic education

The differences between official school policy and the actual delivery of civic education is a major problem in promoting civic education. Another problem was also suggested by teacher-trainer X. As mentioned previously, teacher-trainer X pointed out that General Studies was an important subject in the promotion of civic education in primary schools. Based on her experience, she further highlighted the point that teaching of General Studies in many schools has paid more attention to Information Technology and elements of science. However, if this is the case, elements such as national education, understanding the community and other social issues will be ignored and this is not favourable to the promotion of civic education.

Discussion and summary

The qualitative interviews identified problems of communication between the NAC and the local children. This is at least partly due to the different cultural background of the two groups. The fact that in general the NAC are older and more mature than the local children is also a factor. Whether there is a communication problem is influenced by the percentage of NAC in the school. Thus schools with a low percentage of NAC in the school population tend to experience greater problem of

interaction.

The interviews show that language, habits and lifestyle are aspects related to problems of adjustment experienced by the NAC. In particular, the language issue in this context is multidimensional in nature. Many NAC experience difficulties due to the use of English, Cantonese and the traditional version of Chinese character in Hong Kong. It is interesting to note that due to geographical proximity many NAC go back to China during vacation. It is a way of relieving the pressure of adjustment.

A factor affecting adjustment is the place of origin in China. Hence NAC who come from cities in China are more likely to adjust smoothly than NAC from villages. As expected, the longer they have stayed in Hong Kong, the better they adjust. It is also important to note that family background is said by researchers to hinder the adjustment of NAC.

In general, according to the informants, a good attempt has been made by the schools to facilitate the adjustment of NAC to the life in Hong Kong. There are many measures in the schools which help the NAC to adapt. Examples are visits, talks by guest speakers and discussion during the form teacher period. The presence of cultural brokers within the schools is also a contributing factor. All these measures have been discussed in this chapter. This fact also matches the result in the last section in chapter four. Accordingly school is perceived as the agency which best helps the NAC to adjust to the life in Hong Kong.

Based on the interviews it seems that the aims of civic education of school A and school C focus on adjustment of NAC to life in Hong Kong. However, in these two

schools the aim of adjustment actually implies re-socialization of the NAC in Hong Kong. For school C the aims are rather broad and general. Moreover, some elements of moral education are also included. The aims of school B are more systematic and seem to correspond closely to the aims set in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines.

School principals have different views on the way that the formal curriculum contributes to the implementation of civic education in schools. Though the subject General Studies was emphasized by the vice principal of school A and the principal of school C, it is difficult to judge how the view was transformed to a policy which was actually implemented by teachers.

On the other hand, the principal of school B had introduced one period of civic education lesson per week in the curriculum. In this sense, the school had paid more attention to the role of the formal curriculum.

Compared with the formal curriculum, there was great reliance on the informal curriculum to implement civic education in these schools. Concrete policies had been introduced to achieve the aims. In the sample schools they included visits and talks by guest speakers, one-help-one policy, activities during assemblies, form-teacher period, etc. The needs of NAC were taken into careful consideration when these policies were adopted. This particular applied to school A and C.

In addition, it is important to note that a strong concern of the policy of the schools appears to be re-socialization and assimilation. Hence, the concern of the schools is to socialize the NAC to adjust to the life in Hong. In this way, they are assimilated

or absorbed into the social structure and cultural life of Hong Kong.

According to the data, there are three main problems encountered when civic education is implemented. First, though the 1996 Guidelines suggests that the formal curriculum has an important role to play in promoting civic education, in practice it is up to the discretion of teachers to decide in what ways this is implemented. It may even be the case that civic education is completely ignored when a subject which is supposed to have a role to play is taught. Thus the lack of systematic planning and direction by the policymakers in the school hinders its implementation through the formal curriculum. Nevertheless, the introduction of a period of civic education every week as in the case of school B may improve the situation.

Secondly, the issue of the family has not been widely mentioned in civic education literature, though it has been touched on by many authors in multicultural education. In the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines the relevance of family has also not been touched on. It is true that informants highlighted concerns about the family background of the NAC. Moreover, as mentioned previously in this chapter, long working hours of some of the parents of the NAC does not facilitate home-school co-operation to implement civic education.

However, the problem of the family should not be overemphasized. An important reason is that the scope of the school to tackle the problem should not be underestimated. The comment by Rutter (1991) suggests that in many cases interventions by schools are fruitful.

In sum, though family factors make civic education more difficult to implement, careful planning by the schools may help to overcome the problem. In addition, improved and closer communication between the school and the family could help to improve the situation.

In addition to the problems mentioned above, another problem related to the implementation of civic education is the predominant occupation with assimilation by the school staff. It is sufficient to point out that in the sample schools it seems that diversity is not valued.

It is regrettable that the principals and the teachers in general failed to notice the value of presence of NAC in their schools. In particular, they seemed not to have recognized the presence of NAC provides a valuable opportunity for them and other pupils to obtain a deeper understanding of China. A more detailed discussion of these problems related to the implementation of civic education will be made in chapter six.

Finally, the interviews with the teacher trainers are useful in that information provided by them helps to give a general picture of various aspects related to the promotion of civic education in primary schools in Hong Kong. In particular, they supplement what actually happens in primary schools regarding the implementation of policies to promote civic education. In sum, their responses regarding the promotion of civic education in primary schools in Hong Kong identified many problems and shortcomings. As mentioned previously, both teacher trainers felt that many teachers in schools were not clear about how to plan civic education. A reason for this was the lack of training and this implies poor experience and ability on the part of

the teacher. Even with training, the time constraint in schools hindered the implementation by the teachers. This fact supplements the information presented by the informants in the sample schools.

In addition, the subject General Studies has been regarded as an important subject to promote civic education by the informants in the schools. One teacher trainer stressed that in many schools more attention had been paid to information technology and the element of science. If this is really the case, elements of civic education may receive lower priority. Finally, it is important to note that the responses of the teacher trainers do not contradict those which are provided by informants in the sample schools.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

The results of this research have been presented in chapter four and five. In this chapter a very brief summary of the results will be made. After that, important results will be further highlighted and discussed, with particular reference to the literature. Furthermore, the limitations of the study will be discussed. Finally, suggestions to policymakers and for further study will be provided.

Results of the study

The quantitative results show that in the sample on average NAC are older than Hong Kong born children. This is in line with the findings from literature in Hong Kong. It is also noted that in the sample NAC tend to have more brothers and sisters than the Hong Kong born children. It is suggested that some parents of the NAC may have come to Hong Kong to escape the one child policy in the Mainland.

The quantitative results show that in general pupils answer positively to the questions on adjustment to Hong Kong (question one to nine) and on adjustment to school (questions ten to seventeen). But the data shows that a relative high proportion of local children preferred to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong. This

fact is not surprising, not least because of the age difference and this indicates the possibility of an interaction problem. It is also important to note that the feeling of liking to live in Hong Kong and that Hong Kong is my home was much stronger for local children than for NAC with under three years' residence. This is one aspect of the adjustment problem encountered by the NAC.

From the 17 questions on adjustment to life in general in Hong Kong, and school in particular, principal component analysis identified six factors, namely, Hong Kong identity, communication with classmates and teachers, Chinese identity, mixing with classmates, adjustment to life in the school and feeling about Hong Kong. However, there were no significant difference in mean ratings on these factors between the two NAC groups, nor between either NAC group and the children who had lived in Hong Kong for at least seven years.

The results of questions 22 to 31 also support the view that many NAC were adjusting to life in Hong Kong. But at the same time they also demonstrated a certain degree of nostalgia. However, as mentioned in chapter four, nostalgia is not necessarily inconsistent with adjustment to life in Hong Kong. Principal components analysis generated a three-factor model and this shows that these ten questionnaire items could be reduced to three basic aspects of adjustment, namely, nostalgia, adjustment to Hong Kong and readiness to settle in Hong Kong.

The correlation matrix also showed positive correlations between various measures of adjustment to life in Hong Kong. This can be taken as indirect evidence of the validity of the data. Finally, NAC answered that school was the agency which best helped them to adjust to life in Hong Kong.

The interview data show that teachers attributed interaction problem to the different cultural background and the age gap between the two groups of pupils. They regarded the language background of some NAC and, particularly, pupils from rural areas, and their different personal habits as important factors affecting their adjustment to Hong Kong. It is important to note that few problems of interaction were reported in the school with a high proportion of NAC.

As mentioned in the literature review, there are cultural similarities and differences between the NAC and the local children. It is also stressed that cultural differences between the two groups should not be overemphasized. For instance, there is still a common basis between the NAC and the local children, in particular, in a background of Confucian Heritage Culture such as loyalty to the family, respect for authority, an emphasis on effort, and recognition of the importance of "face". In addition, both groups are also subject to the influence of an education system that is highly competitive.

Nevertheless, after the NAC have moved to Hong Kong, issues of adjustment can arise due to cultural differences. During the interviews, habits, language and life style were reported as important aspects regarding the adjustment to life in Hong Kong. The informants mentioned that many NAC felt cheerful when they first arrived. But after a certain period of time they subsequently experienced the stages of depression, confusion and frustration. However, during their initial stay in Hong Kong some NAC relieved the pain of adjustment by going back to China on holiday. When they began to adjust, they found this was not necessary.

Factors governing adjustment included the places of origin. For instance, NAC from villages tended to have more adjustment problems. Length of stay and the availability of support from the family were also reported as other factors. Furthermore, the informants also mentioned that for the NAC the problem of adjustment at school was not great.

Based on the interviews it appears that an important aim of civic education in Hong Kong is to facilitate the adjustment of NAC to the life in Hong Kong. Moreover, except for one school, the aims did not closely match the aims as stated in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines.

Compared with the formal curriculum, there is a greater reliance on the informal curriculum to implement civic education. Policies like talks by guest speakers, one-help-one policies etc. are adopted. It appears that an important concern is the re-socialization and assimilation of the NAC.

Problems encountered when civic education is implemented include the clear discretion of teachers to decide in what ways civic education is implemented through the formal curriculum. More specifically, a teacher may interpret that the subject taught by him or her has no role to play in the implementation of civic education. As a result, it is likely that this teacher will ignore civic education when the subject is taught. In addition, the family factor and the emphasis on assimilation are other problems encountered. All these have been discussed in the last chapter.

Discussion

It is interesting to notice that some of the results mentioned above are consistent with the literature discussed in chapter two. However, there are several points in the findings which help to fill gaps in literature.

Lo, Wan and Chung (1998) carried out a study to investigate the psychological adaptation of Newly Arrived Students from Mainland China. Their study emphasized the learning difficulties of these students who enrolled in various primary and secondary schools in Hong Kong.

There have also been studies of basic questions related to the adaptation of NAC to school and social life in Hong Kong. In this research an interesting finding based on the questionnaire is the simultaneous presence of nostalgia and the feeling that they have adapted to the life in Hong Kong and it has not been mentioned in other studies. However, as it was not possible to interview the pupils a more detailed analysis of this phenomenon is not possible. This is suggested as one area for further research.

Moreover, another interesting result is that nine basic factors regarding the adaptation of NAC were generated by principal components analysis. The generation of these nine factors is quite logical and it makes sense intuitively. On the whole, the correlation matrix generated by the nine factors also suggested close correlation between some factors. This should help to arouse the attention of researchers and provide the grounds for further research. In the past, researchers in Hong Kong have undertaken qualitative studies on the adjustment of NAC to Hong Kong. However, larger scale and systematic quantitative investigation of the adjustment of the NAC

has not been undertaken. It is suggested that such studies should be carried out in future. In addition, principal components analysis can be applied so that a more complete picture of the adjustment of NAC can be provided from questionnaire data.

More detailed data and information has been found based on the results of the interviews. In multicultural education literature in Western countries, theoretical models of cross-cultural interaction describe patterns of interaction between the immigrant children and the school children of the dominant group (Cusher, McClelland & Safford, 2000). During interview the teachers and principals noted relevance of the concepts in-group/out-group, attribution and belonging/rejection as suggested in the model.

Some informants also mentioned that NAC experienced the initial period of elation and optimism suggested by Cusher, McClelland & Safford (2000, p.96 -97). Subsequently they also experienced the stage of depression, confusion and frustration. Hence the situation in Hong Kong appears consistent with relevant multicultural literature. Due to geographical proximity, NAC may return to their home in China during vacation to relieve the pain of adjustment. However, this phenomenon has not been highlighted in the multicultural literature in Western countries. Probably this is due to the unique situation in Hong Kong.

In the literature review chapter the concept of acculturation was discussed. Different researchers such as Banks (1991) and Grant & Ladson-Billings (1997) have different interpretations of the meaning of acculturation. Based on the interviews it appears that in Hong Kong being acculturated means adjustment to the life in Hong Kong and teachers believe that it should predominantly work in one direction. Hence the

depiction of Grant & Ladson-Billing of acculturation as a process by which immigrants adapt to the mainstream in order to fit in can be applied to the case in Hong Kong.

According to this interpretation it is difficult to recognize that the mainstream group in Hong Kong has been changed by the NAC. This is related to the issue of assimilation which has been discussed in chapter five.

It is true that stereotypes and prejudice are concepts which are very widely used in multicultural literature. Based on the interviews, it appears that there is little overt prejudice against the NAC by the informants. However, there was evidence of informants stereotyping the NAC. In chapter five it was reported that school informants referred to NAC as developing poor personal habits such as not lining up and not being tidy. In addition, during interviews the school informants also highlighted that the standard of English of the NAC was poor. One teacher emphasized that some NAC had to start from the basics and just learn the letters A to Z.

To a certain extent the views of the teachers toward the NAC are based on their observations. However, it is clear that these views cannot be applied to all the NAC. More importantly, negative stereotyping will also lead to teachers having negative expectations and this has not been mentioned in literature in Hong Kong. Ramsey (1983, p.12) has raised a similar point. Teachers in 'less successful' schools in his study in New Zealand had low expectations of what they believed their pupils could achieve. In the present study it is not possible to distinguish the sample schools as 'successful' or 'not successful'. However, it is obvious that most of them carried

negative expectations of the NAC. As mentioned in the literature review, stereotyping the NAC and the consequent negative expectations thus developed may help preserve perceived group differences and justify attitudes against this group of pupils. Previous researchers in Hong Kong have not highlighted this point and it merits further study.

In chapter two it was emphasized that the situation of NAC has as much to do with social disadvantage as with cultural differences. The qualitative results support the discussion in the literature. In chapter five the informants highlighted the low socio-economic status of the families of the NAC. In many cases both parents have to work and they lack time to teach and socialize their children. This does not facilitate the adjustment of the NAC to the life in Hong Kong.

Chapter five noted the predominant concern of the informants with assimilation. As suggested by the multicultural literature reviewed in chapter two, showing respect for the background of people of different cultural background is important. This also has implications for civic education in Hong Kong. More specifically, promoting the national identity and understanding the culture and other aspects of one's country is an important element of citizenship education (Lee, 1999, p.325). This is also the case in Hong Kong and is reflected in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines (p.6 – 7).

In Hong Kong the lack of knowledge of the political and cultural situation in China has been documented (Tse, 1999, p.158). Even the promotion of civic education in schools fails to satisfactorily remedy this. Though in the sample schools the principals pointed out that developing love and understanding China is one of the school's aims, it seems clear that they and the teachers in their schools have not taken

advantage of the presence of NAC in their schools. In Hong Kong the NAC come from a great variety of places from China. These children were brought up and socialized in the Mainland. As one of the aims of civic education in Hong Kong is to promote national identity and to understand China, the presence of NAC in the schools could potentially facilitate the achievement of this aim. To elaborate, NAC are a potentially valuable source of information on many aspects of life in China. For instance, NAC could be asked to talk about their life experience in China and what they have learned in schools before coming to Hong Kong.

NAC from villages in China should not be viewed solely as problem cases by teachers. Over 80 percent of the population in China lives in the rural areas. As Hong Kong is a very urbanized city, most local school children never have a chance to have a glimpse of life in rural China. The NAC could be seen as valuable resource for teachers to promote understanding of rural life in China.

However, the interviews showed that the predominant concern with assimilation and helping the NAC to adjust to the life in Hong Kong was not conducive to the achievement of this. Moreover, it is very important to distinguish between tolerating the person and respecting the culture which this person represents. Civic education in the sample schools as depicted in the previous sections seems to be based on the former category. Thus it is sufficient to point out that in the sample schools diversity is apparently not valued.

It is regrettable that the principals and the teachers in general failed to notice the opportunities created by the presence of NAC in their schools. In particular, they did not appear to recognize the presence of NAC provides a valuable opportunity for

them and other pupils to develop a deeper understanding of China. In literature related to the education of NAC in Hong Kong this point has not been touched on by researchers.

Examining the documents for the implementation of civic education in Hong Kong, it is considered that the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines is an important development from the 1985 Guidelines (Tse, 1999). More emphasis is put on the developing of critical thinking skills and the mere imbuing of knowledge is minimized. However, in fact, what actually happens may diverge quite significantly from what is suggested in the document, as in the cases in this sample.

Though the 1996 Guidelines suggest that the formal curriculum has an important role to play in promoting civic education, in practice it is up to the discretion of teachers to decide in what ways this is implemented. It may even be the case that civic education is completely ignored when a subject which is supposed to have a role to play is taught. Thus the lack of systematic planning and direction by policymakers in a school hinders the implementation through the formal curriculum. Nevertheless, the introduction of a period of civic education for one period a week as in the case of school B may improve the situation.

It appears that the policy of the Hong Kong Employment and Manpower Bureau (EMB, formerly the Hong Kong Education Department) also contributes to the problem. The flexible and discretionary nature of the 1996 Guidelines and other relevant policies of the educational authority leaves too much room for individual schools to decide the form of civic education they will adopt. Given the crowded curriculum in schools and the high priority given to academic subjects, it is not

surprising that the role and importance of civic education receives a low priority.

In addition, based on the interviews, it seems that only a small number of aims as recommended in the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines are achieved. For instance, no adequate emphasis is put on national and patriotic education. Viewed from another perspective, the content of the 1996 Guidelines may be too rich and attempts to achieve every aim in the document are unlikely to succeed.

The evidence obtained in this research is not inconsistent with literature in civic and citizenship education. Morris (1997, p.118) suggested that a low level of implementation of the various guidelines, including the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines, in the formal school curriculum has been evident. Examining evidence from the three sample schools, it seems that the principals have developed a view of the relevance of certain subjects to promote civic education. However, they did not mention clearly and concretely in what ways their views were actually put into practice. Nevertheless, this research helps to fill the gap in existing literature in Hong Kong as there has been no empirical study on how civic education is actually implemented through the formal curriculum in primary schools with a high number of NAC.

The issue of family background has not been widely mentioned in civic education literature in Hong Kong, though it has been touched on by many authors in multicultural education literature. The 1996 Civic Education Guidelines do not discuss the relevance of the family background. According to the informants, the family background of the NAC hinders to some extent the implementation of civic education. For example, a teacher suggested that impoliteness and untidiness of the

NAC was linked to their bad habits at home. The informants also felt that in many cases the large age gap between the parents may well hinder the development of a harmonious relationship within the family. This will not facilitate the school-family co-operation to educate the child as well as to facilitate the implementation of civic education.

It is considered that the issue of family background as highlighted by many informants is a valid cause of concern. However, it is emphasized again that they only reported what they have observed and felt. The points mentioned by them can be more substantially validated and confirmed only if they have made frequent and direct contacts with the parents of the NAC. However, this is highly unlikely as they stressed that they had difficulty of contacting the parents. As highlighted by Gollnick and Chinn (2002), students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to be overrepresented among the ranks of low achievers. They cite research showing that teacher expectations may be influenced by nonacademic student characteristics such as dress, language, cleanliness, and family stability. Generally, such influences tend to work to the disadvantage of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and those speaking minority languages or nonstandard dialects of English.

Regarding the issue of family background, it is likely that in this research informants' expectations enter the picture when they were making comments as in many cases these comments were not based on direct evidence. More importantly, in view of the comments by the informants, it seems that in relation to the family background overwhelmingly negative expectations were formed. Thus it is suggested that family background as a problem regarding the promotion of civic education in the schools is a complicated issue.

Moreover, the problem of the family should not be overemphasized. An important reason is that the scope of the school to tackle the problem should not be underestimated. Rutter (1991) has shown that in many cases interventions by schools are fruitful. For instance, careful planning by the schools should help to overcome the problem. In addition, improved and closer communication between the school and the family should help to improve the situation.

The applicability of multicultural education concepts and theories

The close association between civic education and multicultural education has been documented in chapter two. In chapter five and in earlier section of this chapter the application of multicultural education to the problem of NAC has also been discussed. In sum, it has been found that the concepts of acculturation, assimilation, ingroup/outgroup and attributions are relevant to the process of the adjustment of NAC to the life in Hong Kong. In addition, models of multicultural education such as prejudice reduction and empowering school culture as suggested by Banks (1997) can be applied to the policies of the school to implement civic education and to facilitate the adjustment to the life in Hong Kong.

However, in the discussion of NAC issues in Hong Kong, authors have failed to make adequate reference to multicultural education literature. Consequently, the wide applicability of these concepts and theories have been underestimated. A more sustained coverage of these concepts and theories may help principals, teachers and even government officials to understand various aspects related to the education of

NAC in Hong Kong.

Though the applicability of multicultural education concepts and theories have been stressed, it is also important to point out that the problems encountered by NAC are not typical of the problems encountered by minority students in multi-cultural situations. In chapter two this point has been discussed. To summarize, families of NAC in Hong Kong have not experienced a long history of discrimination, including racism, as is the case in the West. Moreover, in the West, because of the legacy of colonialism and slavery, many minority groups, particularly those from Africa and Asia, still experience problems associated with the assumption of cultural inferiority. Again this is not so true of NAC in Hong Kong.

In addition, NAC in Hong Kong do not experience severe difficulties due to differences in language, religion and skin colour. But this situation is quite common in the West. Finally, in many Western countries, it is common that there is a strong determination of the families of these minorities to retain their own culture which is quite different from that of the host country. However, this is not the case in Hong Kong. The important point is that there is a danger of oversimplification if multicultural education literature is taken as relevant without considering the local situation in Hong Kong.

Suggestions to policymakers

Researchers such as Morris (1997) have commented in detail on the difficulties and shortcomings regarding the promotion and implementation of civic education in Hong

Kong. In chapter two this has been discussed. Points highlighted by him tend not to contradict the findings in this research. More specifically, the flexible and discretionary nature of the 1996 Civic Education Guidelines does not facilitate a more concrete and serious implementation of civic education in schools. In particular, the adoption of the permeation approach whereby elements of civic education are implemented through the teaching of different subjects may imply that in some cases it is not taught at all.

It is suggested that the EMB may consider introducing a civic education subject of a more compulsory nature in primary schools. Though in secondary schools in Hong Kong an independent subject civic education can form part of the curriculum, it is optional whether schools introduce it in the curriculum. Moreover, it is important that civic education should be assessed more seriously and formally in schools.

Further, the EMB should seriously consider providing concrete support to schools to promote tolerance and mutual acceptance of different groups of students in schools which admit a high number of NAC. For instance, teaching packages can be developed to achieve the purpose. This should facilitate the adjustment of the NAC to the life in Hong Kong as well as the implementation of civic education in the schools.

Limitations of the study

There are two main limitations of this study. Firstly, the sample of schools was limited and was not chosen randomly. As mentioned in the methodology chapter the

choice of the schools for investigation was governed by accessibility. Choosing a greater number of schools for study and choosing a more representative sample should improve the validity of the results.

Secondly, due to the scope of this study and practical difficulties of gaining access to data, a comprehensive investigation of different aspects relevant to the implementation of civic education in the schools was not possible. For instance, the researcher was not able to undertake observation of civic education in school B. Moreover, the principal of school C did not allow the teachers in her school to be interviewed by the researcher.

Suggestions for further research

As suggested previously, researchers in Hong Kong should consider large scale and systematic quantitative investigation of the adjustment of the NAC to the life in Hong Kong. For instance, principal components analysis can be applied to the data so that a more complete picture of the adjustment of the NAC can be provided.

As also emphasized in the methodology chapter, the number of schools chosen for study was limited. Thus in future researchers can examine the situation of civic education in other schools which admit a high number of NAC from mainland China. Studying more schools should provide a more general picture regarding implementation of civic education in these schools. As also suggested in the present sections, failure to make a more comprehensive investigation of different aspects related to implementation of civic education is a limitation of the study. Hence

researchers could undertake class observation and interview students in order to fill this gap.

Another research possibility would be to undertake a longitudinal study to investigate patterns of adjustment of NAC to life in Hong Kong. For instance, questions similar to the present study could be filled in by primary four pupils at the end of the academic year and two years later when they are at the end of their primary study. In this way, changes in their perceptions could be elicited.

Finally, researchers could also compare the implementation of civic education in primary schools with no NAC and in primary schools with a high percentage of NAC. Such comparisons could highlight the similarities and differences between the two groups of schools.

In sum, this research provides insights into aspects of the adjustment of NAC to the life in Hong Kong. Moreover, the research highlights the problem of predominant concern with assimilation of the NAC by the teachers in the sample schools while the potential value of the presence of NAC as a resource for multicultural learning is ignored. Analysis of the interview data also demonstrates the shortcomings in implementing civic education through the formal curriculum. Another important finding is that stereotyping of the NAC by the teachers in the sample schools is quite common. It is hoped that this research will contribute to the understanding to the education of the NAC in Hong Kong and that the questions arising from it will stimulate further research in the field.

Appendix I

Questionnaire for primary pupils

Personal information

a.Age

9 ____ 10 ____ 11 ____ 12 ____ 13 or above ____

(This refers to the year above that age level. For instance, if your age is 11, this means that you have just passed her eleventh birthday but not reached the twelfth birthday)

b.Sex

Male ____ Female ____

c.Where were you born?

Mainland China ____ Hong Kong ____ Other (please specify) ____

d..How many years have you been in Hong Kong

less than 1 year ____ 1-2 ____ 3-4 ____ 5-6 ____ 7 years or above ____

e.How many brothers and sisters do you have?(excluding yourself)

0 ____ 1 ____ 2 ____ 3 ____ 4 or above ____

f.Number of members of your family living in Hong Kong(this refers to your brothers and sisters, your parents and yourself)

2 ____ 3 ____ 4 ____ 5 ____ 6 or above ____

g..What is the occupation of your father?

worker ____ driver ____ merchant ____ sales ____ others(please specify) ____

h.What is the occupation of your mother?

worker ____ driver ____ merchant ____ sales ____ housewife ____

others(please specify)

- i.Place of residence of the parents of the participants
- Both parents are in Hong Kong _____
- Father is living in Hong Kong and mother is living in China _____
- Mother is living in Hong Kong and father is living in China _____
- Both parents in Mainland _____

Main questions

	SA	A	D	SD
1.I like living in Hong Kong				
2.I feel that Hong Kong is my home				
3.I am proud to be a citizen of China				
4.I am proud to be a resident of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region				
5.I can understand the simplified version of Chinese character.				
6.I can understand the traditional version of Chinese character.				
7.I think English language is a difficult subject for me.				
8.I like to participate in cultural activities in Hong Kong				
9.I think people in Hong Kong are friendly and helpful.				
10.I like going back to school.				
11.I have no problem of communication with my classmates				
12.I have no problem of communication with my teachers				
13.I am willing to participate in extracurricular activities organized by the school				
14.I like to sit with a classmate who has just moved to Hong Kong recently.				
15.I like to sit with a classmate who was born in Hong Kong				
16.I have many good classmates in Hong Kong				
17.I have rarely been bullied or teased by my classmates				

(Code: SA – Strongly Agree, A – Agree, D – Disagree, SD – Strongly Disagree)

- 18.Please say what you like about living in Hong Kong.
- 19.Please say what you don’t like about living in Hong Kong.

20..Please list some responsibilities of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

21.Please list some rights of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

(The above questions will be filled in by both immigrant and non-immigrant pupils)

The following questions will only be filled in by pupils who have moved to Hong Kong in less than seven years.

	SA	A	D	SD
22.My parents discussed the family’s move to Hong Kong with me before we departed to settle in the territory(HKSAR).				
23.I am very cheerful when I first arrived at the HKSAR				
24.I always have the idea of going back to China..				
25.Since I have moved to Hong Kong, I have found it difficult to discuss with my parents the life and the problems which I have encountered in schools.				
26.My neighbours are very friendly to us..				
27.I have adapted to the life in Hong Kong.				
28.I miss the old days when I was living in China				
29.I miss the friends and relatives in China before I moved to Hong Kong				
30.I have many friends after I arrived in Hong Kong				
31.I like better the classmates in Hong Kong(compared with those in the Mainland)				

32. Which agencies below best help you to adapt to the life in Hong Kong?

Family _____ School _____ Voluntary organizations _____
Government departments _____ Others _____

Appendix II

Interview schedules

Interview schedule for social workers or counseling teacher

- i. Can you tell me about the two most recent cases you have investigated?
- ii. Are these typical of the cases you handle?
- iii. How many immigrant children are there in the school?
- iv. In your experience over the last month, what have been the major problems facing the children at school?
- v. In the same period, what have been the main problems facing their families?
- vi. To what extent are the above problems related to the presence of immigrant children in the school?

Interview questions for school principals

- i. What are the aims of civic education in your school?
- ii. How do the aims differ from those specified by the Hong Kong Education Department, given the fact that there is a great number of immigrant children in your school?
- iii. Do they differ at all from schools with few immigrant children?
- iv. What policies have been adopted to achieve these aims?
- v. Can you tell me how civic education is taught through the formal curriculum?
- vi. How do the informal and the hidden curriculum contribute to civic education?
- vii. What difficulties have you experienced in relations between children born in Hong Kong and immigrant children?

viii. In implementing civic education, what problems have you experienced in relation to:

- a) curriculum content
- b) teaching methods
- c) social relations between pupils
- d) expectation of Hong Kong parents
- e) expectations of immigrant parents

ix. Do you support a policy of assimilation or cultural pluralism (the two terms will be explained)

x.a) How do school activities/events reflect the needs/interest of diverse groups within the school?

b) How do you encourage students to participate activities in the schools? Have you encountered any problems?

The interview questions for teachers

i. What subjects do you mainly teach in your school?

ii. How do you teach civic education through your subject?

iii. Do you think civic education is taught mainly through the subject curriculum, or through the hidden curriculum/informal curriculum in your school?

iv. Regarding the above question, does the presence of immigrant pupils generate complications? If so, how?

v. In general do children born in Hong Kong mix with immigrant children?

vi. In what ways have you tried to promote a harmonious relationship between the 2 groups?

vii. What difficulties have you encountered in helping new immigrants to adapt to life in Hong Kong? (I will explain to the teacher that new immigrant children refer to those who have been in Hong Kong for less than seven years).

viii. Apart from the issue of academic work, what are the problems encountered by the

immigrant children? How do you help them to solve the problem?

ix. Do immigrant children exhibit the same behaviour problems as children born in Hong Kong? If not, what are the differences?

Around four or five teachers in each school will be selected for interview. As far as possible, this sample will be composed of teachers who teach different subjects in the school.

Interview questions for teacher trainers of civic education

- i. In general, how do you evaluate the 1996 Guidelines on Civic Education? Is there any other important document which provides guidelines for schools to follow?
- ii. Is there any changes in government policy since 1996, in view of the fact that the guideline was written before 1997?
- iii. Can you comment on government policy on civic education with respect to NAC in primary schools?
- iv. To what extent has the government provided enough resources to implement civic education in primary schools?
- v. Can you comment in general how civic education is implemented in schools, in particular, primary schools in Hong Kong? You could make special reference to the balance of formal, informal and the hidden curriculum in primary schools?
- vi. Can you comment on how the government has promoted civic education in primary schools with a high percentage of NAC?

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